Representations and Transformations of *Synagoga* In Latin Christendom *c.*1050 – 1250

Jo Partridge

School of World Art Studies and Museology
University of East Anglia

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Abstract

Abstract concepts become more accessible and easier to understand when personified. Fortune, Justice and Britannia are among the more notable. Medieval patrons and designers personified Judaism, the religion of the Jews as a female figure called *Synagoga*. *Synagoga*'s Christian counterpart was personified as *Ecclesia*. Throughout the period under discussion the representation of *Ecclesia* remained static and experienced no change to her essential attribute: the chalice, symbol of the New Covenant brought about by the salvific death of Christ, but *Synagoga* changed. The New Covenant was perceived to be the fulfilment of *Synagoga*'s 'Old' Covenant symbolised by the tablets of the Law, which were frequently but not always inverted in her hand. *Synagoga*'s infidelity, accounts of which were given by her own prophets resulted in divorce and *Ecclesia* became the rightful Bride of the Lord. The dissertation examines how the transformation came about, how attitudes to *Synagoga*'s degradation intensified so that she became the repository of hostile attitudes to Jews themselves. The dissertation calls upon ancient and contemporaneous texts to help to establish the role of art in the proliferation of hostile imagery that is central to the discussions and is exemplified by representations across the media. The extreme example is *Synagoga*'s possession of the instruments of the Passion which became a standard attribute during and following the crusades.

Table of Contents

Introduction

Chapter 1: Personification

Chapter 2: Brides of the Lord

2 *Paul banishes Hagar*. Paris, Bibliothèque Ste. Geneviève MS.1180: ‘The Maugier Bible’ fol. 345, Cat. Gen., I Bibliothèque Ste. Geneviève, I (Paris, 1898), 541-2.

3 *Ecclesia*: *Creation miniature*. Codex Fr. 9561, fol. 3. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale.

4 *The Repudiation of Synagoga*, *Song of Songs*, Initial ‘O’ (*sculetur*) Citeaux Bible, 1109, Dijon, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS. 15, fol.50.

5 *Esther*, as above, fol. 122 *v*.

6 *Osculetur me*...Montalcino, Bibliothèque Communale, Cod. SS Vol.2 fol. 56*r*.

7 *O* (*sculetur*) *Song of Songs*. Bible of St-Vaast, Arras, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS. 559, Vol. II, fol. 141 *v*.

8 *O* (*sculetur*) *Song of Songs*. Bible of St. Amand, Valenciennes, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS.10, fol. 113.

9 *Spona*, *Sponsus*. Bede, Commentary on the *Song of* Songs, Cambridge, King’s College, MS. 19, fol. 21 *v*.

10 *Christ and Ecclesia*, *Enthroned*, mosaic, central apse, Santa Maria Trastevere, Rome, 1148.

11 ‘*Tetrarchs*’ porphyry sculpture, Constantinople early 4th Century, brought to Venice, 1204.

12 The *Allegories of St. Paul Window*. St-Denis, 1140-44.

13 St-Denis: Schematic plan of chapels in chevet.

14 *The Unveiling of Synagoga*, *the Crowning of Ecclesia*.

15 *St. Paul*, *Mystic mill*.

16 *The Lion and the Lamb*.

Chapter 3: The Representation of *Synagoga* in Crucifixion Imagery

Chapter Four: Judgement and Reconciliation

Conclusion

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Although they know little of syntax and deadlines, clumsy expression or sloppy citation there are two very special little girls to whom I dedicate this dissertation: Esmé and Phoebe, my granddaughters who always ask lots of questions and who never take no for an answer, although I cannot imagine from whom they have inherited such an attitude.

Introduction

To encounter the statues of *Synagoga* and *Ecclesia* in the portals of the great medieval churches is to observe the last stages of a long and complex development whose iconographical roots are only dimly discernible. A well-documented example of their configuration is at the Cathedral of Notre-Dame in Strasbourg *c.*1230 where *Synagoga* and *Ecclesia* are situated to right and left of the double portal of the south transept **(Fig. 1)**. *Synagoga* bows her head, as if to evade the imperturbable hauteur of *Ecclesia*. In *Synagoga*'s right hand is a lance but it is broken in places; in her left hand, the tablets of the Law refer to the Covenant made between God and Moses from which Judaism, the religion of the Jews, which she personifies, developed. A band has been placed around *Synagoga*'s eyes, but as a blindfold indicates she is not blind: she simply cannot see **(Fig. 2)**.

Despite the opposition apparent in attribute and mien, the figures impart a sense of affinity. Although weary and discouraged, *Synagoga*'s gown, which is identical to that of *Ecclesia*, affords *Synagoga* a measure of dignity even though she is defeated. The likeness of costume is a way of indicating that the figures have something in common. *Ecclesia* and *Synagoga* are closely related, sometimes referred to as mother and daughter and sometimes as sisters. *Synagoga* and *Ecclesia* have more in common than their appearance suggests: monotheism, messianic deliverance, the Hebrew Scriptures, the Holy Land, sacred symbols, liturgy. However, the designers of the statuary wished to draw attention to what they perceived to be the superiority of *Ecclesia* over *Synagoga*; their commonalities were subservient to this end. To put it briefly, the personifications codify a mindset that developed over time and encouraged some patrons, designers and observers to regard Judaism as the superseded precursor rather than the foundation of salvation history.

The central concern of this dissertation is to investigate the processes by which attitudes that contributed to the perception of the superiority of Christianity were developed, and to interpret and analyse the extent to which ecclesiastical art contributed to its propagation. It seeks to establish why and how *Synagoga* became the repository of hostile attitudes to Judaism in imagery that proliferated in all media in the central Middle Ages: *c*.1050-1250, particularly in northern Europe. In order to achieve this it is necessary to explore aspects of the relationship of Christians to Jews. While not specifically concerned with the history of Jews, many aspects of Jews' past must be addressed as part of the context for the images presented. It will be apparent that Judaism and Jewry posed a conflict of interest for the Church from the time of her establishment in the first century.[1] The study reveals how deprecatory attitudes of Christians to Jews and Judaism were registered in *Synagoga* and enquires into the stages by which *Synagoga* functioned as a representative of Judaism, in the process examining how she became a surrogate for the Jews themselves who were, as R.I. Moore maintains like lepers, heretics and homosexuals, victims of a nascent 'persecuting society.'[2]

The approach is both chronological and thematic and is based on a variety of sources: manuscript, mosaic, coloured glass, wall painting, ivory, precious metals and monumental sculpture. The question of how these images were received by their first

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[1] 'The Church' does not imply that it was a uniform institution. There was rarely, if ever, a time when the Church could boast the absence of dissenters or heretics. The concept of the Middle Ages as times of unanimity is just as unhelpful. See especially W.H. Southern, *Western Society and the Church in the Middle Ages*, Harmondsworth, 1970.

[2] R.I. Moore, *The Formation of a Persecuting Society*: *Power and Deviance in Western Europe*, *950-1250*, Oxford, 1997.

audience is complex. Many were incorporated in ecclesiastical vessels for the consumption of monastics and religious who may have had an altogether different response from ordinary churchgoers or pilgrims if only because the imagery is mysterious and perplexing. Indeed, many of the images presented here would not have been seen except by their patrons but this does not detract from their offensive nature. Although it is not possible to verify the intention of designers, it can be inferred, to some extent. When *Synagoga* is portrayed leaving the scene of the Crucifixion it can be taken that she does not accept its significance, wants nothing to do with it, leaves Christ to die. When, as in the Cloisters Cross portrayal, *Synagoga* ‘kills’ the Lamb, an altogether different response is elicited: *Synagoga* kills the man who is in the Christian tradition, believed to be the Son of God and Saviour of mankind.

The long and complex development that terminates in the Strasbourg *Synagoga* and *Ecclesia* was, to a large extent, shaped by the accumulated writing of apostolic and Christian polemicists. Augustine’s *City of God against the Pagans* has provided many areas of exploration. *Adversus Judaeos* texts from the first to the twelfth century are consulted at appropriate points as significant influences on the production of the imagery. Letters and Sermons of Bernard of Clairvaux have helped to gain access to attitudes that cannot be conveyed through visual analysis. Anselm of Canterbury’s *Cur Deus Homo* (Why a God Man?) helped to understand the concept of Reason and why it affected the representation of *Synagoga*. A. Sapir Abulafia’s copious writing on twelfth-century *Disputatio* also contributed here. For an understanding of the attitudes of early-Christian polemicists the work of A. L.

Williams is well thumbed and so also is that of J. Cohen.[3] R. Chazan's work on medieval Jewry and the Church has been particularly helpful.[4] These and other scholars have stimulated my thinking about how and why *Synagoga* imagery was disseminated and why the representation of *Synagoga*, unlike that of *Ecclesia* was not static but subject to change through time and circumstance.

The dissertation differs from other accounts of *Synagoga* in that it analyses personification from an historical perspective so as to provide a background to the intellectual and theological cultures which influenced the creation of *Synagoga* imagery. As the personification of abstract concepts, *Synagoga* was one offspring in a long lineage but this is often a neglected aspect of the field. What is generally acknowledged as a standard work on the subject of *Synagoga*: W.S. Seiferth, *Synagogue and Church in the Middle Ages*: *Two Symbols in Art and Literature* takes little account of personification as a renowned mode of communication and more analysis is needed if the reader is to be adequately equipped to appreciate the characteristics of the legacy inherited by *Synagoga* in her diverse roles.[5] Another indispensable reference: H. Schreckenberg's *The Jews in Christian Art*: *An Illustrated History* allows for a visual history of *Synagoga* and *Ecclesia* but here again, the core concept of personification is taken for granted.[6] B.Blumenkranz, *Le juif médiéval au miroir de l'art chrétien*, has a chapter on *Synagoga* but also assumes the reader is fully cognizant with the nuances of personification as a way of communicating with a

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[3] A. L. Williams, *Adversus Judaeos*: *A Bird*'s-*Eye View of Christian Apologiae until the Renaissance*, Cambridge, 1935; J. Cohen, *Living Letters of the Law Ideas of the Jew in Medieval Christianity*, Berkeley and London, 1999.

[4] R. Chazan, *Medieval Jewry in Northern France*: *A Political and Social History*, Baltimore and London, 1973.

[5] W. S. Seiferth, *Synagogue and Church in the Middle Ages*: *Two Symbols in Art and Literature*, New York, 1970.

[6] H. Schreckenberg, *The Jews in Christian Art*, *An Illustrated History*, London, 1996.

variable audience.[7] S. Lipton's *Images of Intolerance*: *the Representation of Jews and Judaism in the Bible Moralisée* discusses imagery that is hostile to Judaism and Jews, but as the title indicates, from a specific source.[8] Even here, there is no explicit treatment of *Synagoga* as an abstraction. Another key reference, R. Mellinkoff's *Outcasts*: *Signs of Otherness in Northern European Art of the late Middle Ages* is of great help also, but *Synagoga* is a small detail in a very wide expanse of reference.[9] These and other diverse sources cited in the main text have informed the research.

Arrangement

The arrangement is such that each of the four chapters contributes to the narrative in a more or less chronological order except that Chapter 3 includes a retrospective exploration of some ninth-century images that are significant for the portrayal of *Synagoga* in Crucifixion imagery. Iconographical evidence for the vilification of *Synagoga* is analysed with reference to the images that accompany each chapter. *Synagoga*'s attributes: the goat, the veil, blindfold, tablets of the Law, instruments of the Passion are explained. The importance of kinship and identity is a continuous theme. The consanguineous relationship between *Synagoga* and *Ecclesia* and how it became a rivalry is one that influences significant aspects of *Synagoga*'s appearance: she is often dressed in the same way as *Ecclesia*, as indicated in the Strasbourg example. Although images and texts revile her, unlike the vices of the *Psychomachia*, *Synagoga* cannot be killed off because she is the source from which *Ecclesia* developed. This realisation has had an effect on how *Synagoga* was portrayed.

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[7] B.Blumenkranz, *Le juif médiéval au miroir de l'art chrétien*, Paris, 1966.

[8] S. Lipton, *Images of Intolerance*: *The Representation of Jews and Judaism in the Bible Moralisée*, Los Angeles and London, 1999.

[9] R. Mellinkoff, *Outcasts*: *Signs of Otherness in Northern European Art of the Late Middle Ages*, Los Angeles and Oxford, 1993.

Organisation

Chapter 1 explores the nature and purpose of personification and related allegory so as to gain a sense of the prevalence of personification in the ancient world and during the period under discussion. Examples of biblical, mythological and classical personification are followed by discussion of three very influential texts: the *Psychomachia* of Prudentius, *c*.480-524, *De Consolatione Philosophiae* of Boethius *c*.474-524 and Martianus Capella's (*fl*. Fifth century), *De Nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii et de septem Artibus liberalibus*. Each of these texts contributes to an understanding of the context for *Synagoga* as a communicator of abstract concepts. The *Psychomachia* has had an inestimable influence on the visual arts. Personifications of Vices and Virtues have increasingly formed parts of ecclesiastical embellishments and provided patrons and designers with more grist to the mill that denigrates *Synagoga*: she is often portrayed with or near the Vices.

Boethius's *De Consolatione Philosophia* has influenced Christian thinking since it appeared. Application of Reason is the guiding principle of the work. Reason or, more accurately, the claimed lack of, affected the ways in which *Synagoga*'s reputation as unable to rationalise the truth of the Incarnation and salvific death of Christ was disseminated. Martianus Capella's celestial marriage whets the appetite for the mystical marriage of Christ and *Ecclesia* although his work had no specific Christian agenda. A significant context for the introduction of *Synagoga* having been established, Part 2 of Chapter 1 examines material that has contributed to the construction of *Synagoga*: what she is and what she is not. She is a collective noun for the Jewish people. She is not a biblical character but one that has been assembled from a variety of tropes.

Chapter 2 discusses the most significant of these: the unfaithful wife who has incurred her husband's anger and is repudiated by him. Several references in the Old Testament, particularly the Prophets are appropriately detailed as indications of how such a reputation was devised for *Synagoga*. Chapter 2 also discusses verbal typology and describes how Christian theologians argued that Christianity was the fulfilment of Judaism. This leads to a discussion of the ways by which the Church established her claim to be the 'true' Israel. The intricacy of reading the Old Testament the 'correct' way is explored. The nuance of typological exegeses is often noted in the literature but here the aim is to draw attention to the shrewd methods of' 'proving' how the New Testament was unrealised in the Old and how Christian exegeses found its 'true' significance, contrary to Jewish understanding, which was deficient.

With reference to the 'allegory' of Sara and Hagar the Pauline concepts of slavery and freedom are introduced and shown to have a bearing on *Synagoga*'s reputation as one who is enslaved by the restrictions of the Law. The Sarah-Hagar rivalry brings others to mind: Cain-Abel, Ishmael-Isaac, and Esau-Jacob contribute to the notion of sibling rivalry that permeates the *Synagoga-Ecclesia* relationship. The prevalence of nuptial imagery in both testaments is examined in detail and aims to show how *Synagoga* was represented as the repudiated bride of the Lord. Several images of her subservience to *Ecclesia* are discussed. Her 'divorce' is recorded in some fifth-century texts.

Various interpretations of the *Song of Songs* are introduced. The return of *Synagoga* extrapolated from some of the verses is particularly relevant. Suger's unveiling of *Synagoga* in the glass paintings in his new chevet is substantial material not least because of the novelty of the glazing programme. The lesser known

Unveiling, an element of the cycle of paintings once in the vault of Worcester cathedral chapterhouse endorses this albeit to a more select audience. Both schemes are discussed in detail so that attitudes to *Synagoga*'s 'return' and the process of her 'enlightenment' are understood.

Chapter 3 is concerned with the representation of *Synagoga* in Crucifixion imagery. A brief introduction to the history of the Crucifixion as a subject of representation includes the significance of those who were present: Mary, John, the two thieves and 'Longinus' and 'Stephaton' all of whom had some impact on the reception of *Synagoga* in representations of the Crucifixion. A number of significant images in a variety of media with various functions are presented, most of which were known only to clerics and religious. The iconography of many of the examples is similar and to avoid tedious repetition only the most apposite are discussed so as to fulfil the aims of the Chapter.

The most significant event to have influenced the representation of *Synagoga* was the first crusade. During and following the first crusade *Synagoga* becomes less of an abstraction and more of a surrogate for Jews themselves. This is most noticeable in some Crucifixion imagery where she is attributed with the *judenhut*, a sign of Jewish 'difference' and 'otherness.' In others she carries the instruments of Christ's Passion; *Synagoga* becomes a surrogate for those Jews who allegedly killed Christ and for which Jews were massacred by some of the crusaders. Hence the imagery articulates and perpetrates blame but my interpretation of the imagery in general will advance the argument for *Synagoga* as a repository of anti-Jewish animus.

Several instances of the appropriation of Jewish Scripture to uphold some of the iconography of Crucifixion scenes are cited. Two specific objects, the Cross of

Gunhild and the so-called Cloisters Cross are examined, the latter in detail. Each exemplifies the luxury material of specially commissioned Crucifixion imagery, both have an anti-Jewish agenda, the former (the earlier) is relatively benign compared to the latter which is both visually and verbally unprecedented and continues to offend Jews. Other luxury productions: the Gospels of Henry the Lion, the Uta Codex, include scenes of *Synagoga* in Crucifixion imagery and these too are discussed. But *Synagoga*'s role in Crucifixion imagery was not always as vituperative as some objects show. In order to illustrate this relative absence of visual polemic an exploration of some ninth-century ivory plaques demonstrates how the antagonism later registered in *Synagoga* was only mildly expressed by the Carolingians. It is argued that the attitude of Louis the Pious to the Jews accounts for this, to some extent.

The final chapter concerns the salvation of *Synagoga*. At the end of time Christ will separate the sheep from the goats according to the account in Matthew's gospel. With reference to manuscript and, by contrast to architectural sculpture Chapter 4 demonstrates how contrary to the promise of salvation for Jews there is only the feeblest evidence for this in representations of the Last Judgement. That *Synagoga* is associated with the Foolish Virgins is a particularly significant aspect of exclusion. The importance of baptism as a preliminary rite to salvation is discussed and the effect of *Synagoga*'s refusal is demonstrated by Lambert of St. Omer's image of Christ pushing *Synagoga* towards a Hell mouth, a scene that is specifically linked to the first crusade.

The conclusion reviews the power of imagery as generator of religious prejudice, particularly as it escalated during the period of the first crusade. The research has provided access to a plethora of concepts and images and its conclusion will show the value of studying medieval experiments in vilifying an abstract personification for understanding issues of current concern surrounding contemporary religious and racial intolerance.

Chapter 1 Personification

A variety of extant sources personify Judaism, the religion of the Jews, as a female figure called *Synagoga*, almost always paired with *Ecclesia* representing the Church of Christ on earth.[1] Personification is a means of communicating abstract concepts in human guise most commonly as women. The most obvious reason for this is that the majority of the relevant nouns are gendered female in Latin such as *Spes*, *Desperatio* or *Fortuna*. There are a number of behavioural consequences with moral and social implications, such as that 'good' concepts are beautiful and demure, like ideal women, whereas bad ones tend to be ugly, seductive and inconstant. For the purposes of the present argument it is important first to examine the nature and the very long tradition of personification in order to arrive at an understanding of what this manner of communication meant to the makers and audiences of *Synagoga* imagery.

In her expansive *Monuments and Maidens*: *The Allegory of the Female Form* M.Warner stated, 'the female form tends…to symbolic interpretation: the male resists anonymous universality more robustly.' She continued; 'the female nudes of Greek sculpture are images of generic feminine eroticism and the individuals who posed for them are rarely credited with an historical identity or retrievable from oblivion.'[2] Warner's scope is unprecedented in the field and she acknowledges the influence of

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[1] I use 'Jews' as synonymous with Hebrews and Israelites although to do so is not strictly correct. 'Hebrews' are the patriarchal ancestors of Judaism; Abraham, Isaac and Jacob who is also called Israel from whom 'Israelites' descend. 'Jews' derives from 'Judeans', both a kingdom and an eponymous name for the tribe of Judah. 'Judeans' might also be interpreted as Jews and that the disciples were mainly Galileans-northerners who were often contemptuously treated by the Jews of Jerusalem who could not accept that the Messiah could come from Galilee. ('A prophet is not honoured in his own home town' John, 4.44).

[2] M.Warner, *Monuments and Maidens*: *the Allegory of the Female Form*, London, 1985, pp. 225-6. See also C.S.Lewis, *The Allegory of Love*, *A study in Medieval Tradition*, Oxford, 1958 and E.H. Gombrich, *Symbolic Images*: *Studies in the Art of the Renaissance*, Oxford, 1978.

Ernst Gombrich whose *Symbolic Images*: *Studies in the Art of the Renaissance* has endured as a standard reference for Renaissance scholars. Warner's work does not index *Synagoga* although she is mentioned albeit briefly in relation to *Ecclesia*. Like the women who posed as models for Greek sculpture, the subject of this dissertation cannot claim historical identity. *Synagoga* was created by artistic imagination from diverse elements such as scriptural trope, first-century theological commentary and by the necessity of invention: the need for a scapegoat. In the following chapter the nature and purpose of *Synagoga* will be established. *Synagoga*'s role in the expression of Christian hostility to Judaism will be introduced.

Unlike many personifications *Synagoga* performs more than one function, for while 'she' may represent Judaism, she also stands for Jewry (sometimes firmly anchored in a particular place and time), for 'Old' Testament history and sometimes for belief in the minutiae of the Torah and for the Temple whose inner sanctum was separated by a veil and barred to all but the High Priest. In all of this, *Synagoga*, like other personifications, exists only as an abstraction, a means of rendering a set of ideals, practices and stereotypes into a character. *Synagoga*'s function was cerebral; 'she' was a means to an end, that is, not an historical reality but a visual aid to discourse deriving from various textual sources.

Accustomed to the ubiquity of personification, invariably there is ignorance of its origin. As E.H. Gombrich remarked, 'we tend to take it for granted rather than to ask questions about this extraordinary predominantly feminine population which greets us from the porches of cathedrals, crowds round our public monuments, marks our coins and banknotes, and turns up in our cartoons.'[3] Twelfth-century audiences were perhaps not as detached from this 'feminine population' for as will be demonstrated 'women' could make light work of the business of propagating concepts and traditions many of which were rooted in the classical past and beyond.

In what is generally referred to as the 'renaissance' of the twelfth century, aspects of ancient learning such as the works of Plato and Virgil were gleaned for what contribution they might make to a predominantly Christian mindset and personification enjoyed a revival in both literary and visual terms.[4] Personification was common among classical writers and philosophers as a means of embodying the principles of their respective philosophies and a brief reference to some of the antecedents of personification may help to clarify why *Synagoga*, rather than say, Moses became the means of representation for the Judaism of the first covenant. Moses is revered in the three Abrahamic faiths. Moses is 'historical' and was God's agent in the transmission of the Covenant. *Synagoga* is an abstraction in whom ideas and attitudes were registered by Christians most often with the intention of denigrating Judaism. *Synagoga* does not really exist so she can be manipulated as a character and vilified; Moses cannot. However, as will be seen, attitudes registered in *Synagoga* were frequently those aimed at Jews themselves.

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[3] E.H. Gombrich, 'Personification,' in R.R. Bolgar (ed.), *Classical Influences on European Culture A.D. 50-1500*, Cambridge, 1971, p. 248.

[4] See especially G. D. Economou, *The Goddess Natura in Medieval Literature*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1972, R.L. Benson and G. Constable (eds. with C. Lanham), *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, Oxford, 1982; C.H. Haskins, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century*, Cambridge, Massachusetts and Oxford, 1927; A. Sapir Abulafia, *Christians and Jews in the Twelfth-Century Renaissance*, London, 1995; C. Brooke, *The Twelfth-Century Renaissance*, London, 1969.

One of the purposes of personification is to stimulate interest in ideas that might otherwise be abstruse. Personification is a very *ad hoc* strategy. Personification provides material cover for immaterial matters but not in a secular way, for personification immortalises. Those abstract ideas such as justice or liberty are accessible through personification as are moral concepts, for example truth or mercy or natural phenomena, the elements, the planets and other non-human aspects of man's environment, such as rivers. The personification of the river Jordan in the scene of the baptism of Christ in the late twelfth-century *Hortus Deliciarum* of Herrad of Hoenbourg is a noteworthy if diminutive example, and introduces the *Hortus* to which a number of references will be made throughout the dissertation **(Fig. 1)**.[5] By way of contrast a representation of Otto III (997-1000) accepting homage from the four parts of the Empire personified by 4 female figures, crowned and offering gifts to him exemplifies the economy of personification **(Fig. 3)**.[6]

The occurrence of personification in mythology and history is plentiful. In his mythic history of Roman origin, Virgil characterises rumour: 'Of all the ills there are, Rumour is the swiftest. She thrives on movement and gathers strength as she goes… Rumour is quick of foot and swift on the wing… [she has] a mouth and a tongue that

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[5] *Baptism of Christ in the Jordan*, The *Hortus Deliciarum* of Herrad of Hohenbourg, fol. 100*r*. Herrad was the abbess of the convent of Hohenburg under whose commission the *Hortus Deliciarum* was completed towards the end of the twelfth century, for the edification of her nuns, and with the help of some artists from outside the community, represented on fol. 322*v* **(Fig. 2)**. The *Hortus* is a compendium of knowledge in the encyclopaedic tradition and provided information on a host of subjects such as natural history, morals and Christian dogma and when completed it comprised 325 folios among which were dispersed 636 illustrations. The *Hortus* is known from a copy. The original manuscript held in the library of Strasbourg was destroyed in 1870, R.Green *et al*. (eds.) *Herrad of Hohenburg Hortus Deliciarum* 2 vols. Leiden, 1979.

[6] The *Four Parts of the Empire*: *Slavinia*, *Germainia*, *Gallia and Roma*, miniature in Gospel book of Otto III, Staatsbibliothek, Munich, Clm.4453, fol. 24 *r*., G. Barraclough, *The Medieval Papacy*, Norwich, 1968, figs. 25-6.

are never silent and an ear always pricked.'[7] However, such a nuisance can also be of value as T.B.L. Webster has shown. 'Pheme (Rumour) was given an altar in 467 BC because the news of the victory at Eurymedon reached Athens so quickly.'[8] Paradoxical as it seems, deification strengthens personification and while the idea of deifying a triviality such as rumour seems incongruous in the twenty-first century, it served a very serious purpose in Antiquity.

Biblical personification can be as compelling as 'rumour,' and a few are cited in order to show that the Greco-Roman tradition does not have the monopoly on this mode of communication. The Book of Numbers (16.32) personifies the earth to startling effect; 'The earth opened its mouth and swallowed them.' Prophets and the Psalmist(s) were fully aware of the appropriateness of personification as a means of enlivening abstractions: Psalm 85.10-11 speaks of how 'faithful love and loyalty join together, saving justice and peace embrace. Loyalty will spring up from the earth and justice will lean down from heaven.' Psalm 89.14 remarks on how 'faithful love and constancy march before you.' Psalm 98.8 delights in how 'the rivers clap their hands and the mountains shout with joy forever.' Proverbs is also replete with examples, especially of Wisdom; 'wisdom has built herself a house, she has hewn her seven pillars, she has slaughtered her beasts, drawn her wine, she has laid her table' (Proverbs, 9, 1-2). 'O Israel, thou hast sinned …the battle in Gibeah against the children of iniquity did not overtake them' exemplifies prophetic stricture and indicates how wickedness begets offspring. (Hosea, 10.9). The New Testament also supplies arresting examples of personification: 'I saw another horse appear, deathly

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[7] Virgil, *The Aeneid*, Book four, D. West, *The Aeneid*: *A New Translation*, Harmondsworth, 2001, p. 84.

[8] T.B.L. Webster, 'Personification as a mode of Greek thought,' *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 18 (1953), pp. 10-21.

pale, and its rider was called Death' (Revelation, 6.8). 'The wages of sin is death,' personifies sin as a treasurer from whom pleasure is gained, at a cost (Romans, 6.23).

Christian didactics has also been reinforced by imagery to which the use of personification has contributed as is evident not least from the number of personified virtues and vices still visible in various tympana of the portals of medieval churches, in manuscripts and in other media. Personification of virtues and vices functioned as reminders of compliance with Christian principles, although not exclusively so, for the values they inculcated especially the four cardinal virtues, Prudence, Justice, Temperance and Fortitude were more widely and timelessly upheld. [9]

Platonic essences

In his first letter to the Corinthians (13.12) Paul explained his understanding of the nature of body and soul, the doctrine of the two worlds, 'now we only see reflections in a mirror, mere riddles, but then we shall be seeing face to face. Now I can know only imperfectly: but then I shall know just as fully as I am myself known.' Shades of Plato's *Phaedo* (360 BCE) are evident in Paul's pronouncement; Socrates explains to one of his companions, (Cebes) some ideas surrounding the true nature of being.[10] 'I do not entirely agree that a man who studies realities in propositions is examining them in reflexion rather than he who examines them in things.'[11]

The influence of ancient philosophy deeply affected the advance of Christianity. Sifted by Augustine (354-430, CE), some of the thoughts and

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[9] A. Katzenellenbogen, *Allegories of the Virtues and Vices in Medieval Art from Early Christian Times to the Thirteenth Century*, New York, 1964, pp. 1-15, esp. p.3.

[10] Essentially, the *Phaedo* is concerned with arguments surrounding the immortality of the soul. The *Phaedo* takes the form of a series of dialogues between Socrates and some companions just before Socrates died.

[11] *Plato*: *Socratic Dialogues*, W.D. Woodhead (trans. and ed.), Edinburgh, 1963, p. 153.

conclusions of Plato (429-347, BCE) helped to formulate theological enquiry. As Augustine put it, 'theological questions are to be discussed with the Platonists rather than with any other philosophers, whose opinions must be considered inferior.'[12] Baldly stated, Plato's ideas centred on the seen and the unseen in the universe and Plato often used literary devices such as metaphor, allegory and simile to demonstrate the correlation between the two. In Book Seven of *The Republic* Plato likens the state of mind of man to that of prisoners in an underground cave who have never known reality, only its shadow.

Allegory, of which personification is often an element, is a complex mode of communication; essentially, it is the use of words or images in ways which provide a double significance for the reader or viewer; one superficial, the other a hidden and often a more important one. As Warner puts it, allegory provides 'a double intention.'[13] The use of allegory had divine approval: 'Son of man put forth a riddle and speak a parable to the house of Israel' (Ezekiel 17.2). Paul resorted to allegory to expound his interpretation of the relationship between Hagar and Sarah narrated in Genesis, 16.

> Scripture says that Abraham had two sons, one by the slave girl [Hagar] and one by the freewoman [Sarah]. The son of the slave girl came to be born in the way of human nature; but the son of the free woman came to be born through a promise. There is an allegory here; these two women stand for the two covenants' (Galatians, 4.21-31).

Another aspect of personification is evident from Paul's exposition: 'historical' individuals, often but not exclusively female, can double as concepts. Thus Hagar is the Old Law, Sarah the New. On this model the disobedient Queen Vashti, who

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[12] Augustine, *Concerning the City of God Against the Pagans*, H. Bettenson (trans.), D. Knowles (intro.), Harmondsworth, 1972, Book 8, Chapter 5, p. 304.

[13] Warner, *Monuments*, xix.

refused to come to the King, might be construed as *Synagoga* while Esther represents the obedient *Ecclesia* (Esther, 1.12).

Despite the brevity of these opening comments, it is evident how vividly allegory and personification work; how natural phenomena, moral and abstract concepts all come to (human) life with the help of this strategy. Several recent studies have laboured the fact that the female form has often, although not exclusively been the medium of choice for their embodiment and how abstract concepts such as justice and peace are shown as women.[14] So also, cities such as the biblical Jerusalem can be 'comely', and have daughters. While the Bible makes full use of personification, it is by no means the exclusive source although it undoubtedly provided models for inspiration. From the period loosely described as Late Antiquity three very influential texts became standard works of reference and remain so. Each of these texts uses personification to great effect and it is helpful to analyse their different strategies and implications. Each text contributes to ideas surrounding dispute, conflict, reason, and the idea of a harmonious heavenly marriage all of which contributed to ideas surrounding the representation of *Synagoga*.

Prudentius and *Psychomachia*

The *Psychomachia*, the battle for man's soul, is the most celebrated work of Clemens Aurelius Prudentius, *c*.480-524. It has never been short of readers who, among many other benefits, enjoy its optimism. Superficially the *Psychomachia* relates a series of grisly battles between some blood-thirsty 'ladies' whose active combat was a novel

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[14] Warner, *Monuments*, pp. 63-7.

feature of medieval art. The *Psychomachia* comprises 915 lines and, in addition to a few fragments, is extant in sixteen illustrated copies that date from the ninth to the late thirteenth centuries.[15] Line 910 summarises the essence of the work: 'Light and darkness with their opposing spirits are at war, and our two-fold being inspires powers at variance with each other, until Christ our God comes to our aid.'[16]

The *Psychomachia* is arranged as a series of contests between familiar human instincts and inclinations, each of which is personified as a woman. Pairs of combatants–Faith *versus* Worship of Old Gods, Chastity *versus* Lust, Long Suffering *versus* Wrath, Lowliness *versus* Pride, Honesty *versus* Deceit, meet in a series of seven very bloody encounters and fight to the death until the virtues prevail. Prudentius's concept of an internal holy war may have been influenced by Tertullian of Carthage (*c*.160-225 CE), whose *De Spectaculis*, (a tirade against the spectacle of Roman games) employs personification: 'See impurity overthrown by chastity, perfidy slain by faith, cruelty crushed by pity, impudence thrown into the shade by modesty.'[17]

Prudentius provides a preface to the *Psychomachia* where (among other things) he outlines the life of Abraham as a model of true faith and as a type for the salvation brought about by Christ. The emphasis on Christianity and its relationship to the first patriarch is evident. The concept of obedience to the will of God prior to the Mosaic covenant; a point of great relevance in strategies to convert Jews is also introduced. The Pauline exhortation to 'put on the full armour of God, [with] truth a belt round your waist, and uprightness a breastplate' (Ephesians, 6.10-16) resonates

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[15] Katzenellenbogen, *Allegories of the Virtues and Vices*, pp. 1-15, esp. p.3.

[16] *Aurelius Prudentius Clemens*, *Poems*, H. J. Thomson (trans.), Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1969, I, p. 343.

[17] *Tertullian of Carthage*, *De Spectaculis*, T. R. Glover, (trans.), Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1966, p. 297.

throughout the *Psychomachia* as do those much-quoted verses in 1 Corinthians, 13, 4-7, ‘love is never jealous, does not take offence or store up grievances.’ Compare *Psychomachia*, lines 780-82, [Peace] ‘feels no jealous envy, endures all things with long suffering, bears wrong without resentment, forgives all offences, eager to pardon.’ This leaves few doubts about the source of Prudentius’s inspiration.

In the course of the battles the Virtues come to the aid of each other. Anxious of winning the battle as soon as possible, straightaway Faith is challenged by Worship of the Old Gods who is quickly doomed; her ‘throat is choked and the scant breath confined by the stopping of its passage, and long gasps make a hard and agonising death’ (Lines 34-5). The characters of the virtues and vices are reflected in Prudentius’s descriptions: Faith’s ‘rough dress is disordered, her shoulders bare, her hair untrimmed, her arms exposed’ (Lines, 20-23). But, as the concept dictates, though even unprotected and unprepared, Faith is, nevertheless victorious **(Fig. 4)**.[18]

Wrath’s characteristics are ‘written all over her face:’ ‘Showing her teeth with rage and foaming at the mouth, darts her eyes, all shot with blood and gall.’ Wrath’s counterpart, Long Suffering ‘abides undisturbed, bravely facing all the hail.’ (Lines 110-130). Such antithesis is also very clear in the relationship between Pride and Humility; ‘Pride galloped about all puffed up on a mettled steed which she had covered with a lion’s mane, so that seated on the wild beast’s mane she might make a more imposing figure as she looked down on the columns with swelling disdain.’ On

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[18] *Faith offers the Crown of Victory to the Martyrs*, *Psychomachia* of Prudentius, St Gall, Reichenau or Constance, late ninth century, J. Beckwith, *Early Medieval Art*: *Carolingian*, *Ottonian*, *Romanesque*, London, 1969, ill. 72.

the contrary, Humility is prepared to meet her opponent ‘but [is] standing in need of others’ help and wanting trust in her own provision’ (Lines, 178-82 and 200).[19]

The second battle describes Chastity pitched against Lust, the Sodomite who ‘thrusts into her face a torch of pinewood blazing murkily with pitch and burning sulphur, attacking her modest eyes with the flames and seeking to cover them with the foul smoke.’ Chastity is, of course, the victor and Prudentius recalls the victory of another chaste woman, Judith, who decapitated the lustful Holofernes (Judith, 13.1-10). Prudentius refers to Judith as ‘still fighting under the shade of the law’ and that ‘she prefigured our times, in which the real power has passed into earthly bodies to sever the great head by the hands of feeble agents.’ Prudentius’s descriptions of the demise of the vanquished are not for the squeamish; ‘with a sword-thrust she [Chastity] pierces the disarmed harlot’s throat, and she spews out hot fumes with clots of foul blood’ (lines 50-1).The incongruity of such behaviour from a host of ‘ladies’ is not lost on the reader, nor is it easy to imagine how the Virtues could be capable of such atrocities whiles their ‘holy songs rang out in sweet, melodious psalms,’ but they did.

This brief account of the *Psychomachia* has demonstrated personification as an element of Christian didactics. Following Prudentius’s example, opposing concepts have typically been personified as warring enemies. In other words, in Prudentius’s hands the existence of a virtue requires it to have an antithesis. This is critical to some aspects of the relationship between *Ecclesia* and *Synagoga*, for example when their respective reputations for spirituality and carnality, or vision and blindness are set in

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[19] Herrad’s *Superbia* on fol. 119*v* in the *Hortus* is indebted to Prudentius; ‘High on her head she had piled a tower of braided hair, laying on a mass to heighten her locks and make a lofty peak over her haughty brows. A cambric mantle hanging from her shoulders was gathered high on her breast and made a rounded knot on her bosom, and from her neck there flowed a filmy streamer that billowed as it caught the opposing breeze’ **(Fig. 5)**. *Psychomachia*, lines 183-9.

opposition.[20] But Prudentius's 'women' are merely abstractions, means to the end of disclosing inner turmoil and ultimately of winning souls to Christ. This objective is not evident in another late-antique work: *De Consolatione Philosophia*, the Consolation of Philosophy.

Boethius, *De Consolatione Philosophiae*

In common with Socrates, Boethius had the benefit of philosophy to mark time prior to his execution. Before he died Boethius composed *De Consolatione*, the most renowned of his numerous philosophical works. The *De Consolatione* and Boethius's (albeit incomplete) translations of Aristotle and Plato from the Greek to Latin, ensured his place as a model for emulation in medieval centres of learning. Regarded (by Gombrich) as 'the most influential book of late antiquity,' the *De Consolatione Philosophiae* is a philosophical dialogue between Boethius and the 'lady' *Philosophia* who appears to him as in a vision.[21] Much longer than the *Psychomachia*, the *De Consolatione*, written as prose and verse, comprises five books.[22] The following very brief sketch indicates the kind of thinking that occupied philosophers in late antiquity and suggests how such thinking, particularly in respect of reason, became more accessible through personification. The twelfth-century philosopher and scholastic William of Conches, one of many to have glossed the work, reflected on Boethius's personification of *Philosophia* as female and declared that it was because 'a woman

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[20] Oppositions are evident in other respects; the sibling rivalry of Cain and Abel and Ishmael and Isaac, 2 tablets of the Law, 2 nations.

[21] E.H. Gombrich '*Icones Symbolicae*: *Philosophies of Symbolism and their Bearing on Art*,' in *Symbolic Images*: *Studies in the Art of the Renaissance*, London, 1972, p. 134.

[22] Roughly, in Book 1, *Philosophia* diagnoses the nature of Boethius's ailments: 'if thou expectest to be cured, thou must discover thy wound.' *Philosophia* rules out the belief that the universe is ruled by chance; it is in the hands of Divine Reason. In Book 2 *Philosophia* and Boethius discuss the problems of Fortune; Fortune is mutable, not static. Book 3 Deals with happiness and philosophy; Boethius must master his own mind and try to attain the Supreme Good. Book 4 treats of evil, goodness, divine government. Book 5 is devoted to the concept of Freedom, 'In this rank of coherent causes, have we any free-will, or doth the fatal chain fasten also the motions of men's minds?'

softens the ferocities of the soul, nourishes children with her milk, and is better accustomed to taking care of the sick than men.'[23]

Unlike the *Psychomachia*, *De Consolatione* is not Christo-centric: the work lacks any explicit reference to Christianity. Boethius does not invoke the help of the Virgin or any of the saints and yet *Philosophia* is as steadfast as any celestial intercessor. *Philosophia* will not forsake Boethius until she has brought him to an understanding and an acceptance of his situation, leaving him consoled. *De Consolatione* is concerned with the perennial problems of mankind. Concepts surrounding justice, fortune, evil and freedom are scrutinised by *Philosophia*. Boethius contributes where he can, sometimes to indicate his understanding, sometimes to ask that further explication be provided by *Philosophia*. The deftness of Boethius's management of personification often hides the fact that he is just talking to himself.

Boethius is deliberately elusive in his description of lady *Philosophia* and presents her as one whom he found difficult to place:

> She could not at all be thought to belong to our times; her stature uncertain and doubtful, for sometime she exceeded not the common height of men, and sometimes she seemed to touch the heavens with her head, and if she lifted it up to the highest, she pierced the very heavens, so that she could not be seen by the beholder (Book 1, 10-15).

Whereas the 'ladies' of the *Psychomachia* were unreservedly blunt and unequivocal, *Philosophia* is mysteriously unattainable. The ambiguity of Boethius's description of *Philosophia* is in keeping with the changing nature of the subject which, then as now, is often beyond the reach of plain-speaking individuals. But in

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[23] Quoted in Warner, *Monuments*, p. 181.

giving her human faculties Boethius allows *Philosophia* to engage with the reader and thus the discipline she represents becomes more approachable. *Philosophia* soon asserts her authority and quickly dispatches the poetical muses from Boethius's bedside. These Muses ('tragical harlots') are 'they which with the fruitless thorns of affection do kill the fruitful crop of reason' and it becomes clear that the pursuit of reason is one of the cruces of the work. Of the many human problems to which reason can be applied, the bewildering nature of Fortune is the first to be scrutinized:

> What is it, mortal man, that has cast you down into grief and mourning? You have seen something unwonted, it would seem, something strange to you. But if you think that Fortune has changed towards you, you are wrong. These are ever her ways: this is her very nature… are you trying to stay the force of her turning wheel? Ah dull-witted mortal, if Fortune begin to stay still, she is no longer Fortune.[24]

Philosophia makes Boethius aware how (in colloquial terms) he cannot have his cake and eat it; by its very nature, fortune is unpredictable. 'Thou hast yielded thyself to fortune's sway; thou must be content with the conditions of thy mistress.' (Book 2). Despite this, it is yet possible to 'discover the type of perfect blessedness' (3.1). Beginning with bucolic imagery of sowing and reaping, *Philosophia* advises Boethius of what is involved:

> He that a fruitful field will sow, dost first the ground from bushes free, all fern and briars likewise mow, that he his harvest great may see. Honey seems sweeter to our taste, if cloyed with noisome food it be. Stars clearer shine if Notus's blast hath ceased the rainy storms to breed. When Lucifer hath night defaced, the day's bright horses then succeed. So thou, whom seeming goods do feed, first shake off yokes which so thee press that truth may then thy mind possess.

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[24] Wheel symbolism is ancient and is mystifying particularly in the visions of Ezekiel (Ezekiel, 1.15). One striking visual example of the Wheel of Fortune is that in the *Hortus Deliciarum* of Herrad of Hohenbourg, fol. 215*r* Green *et al. Herrad of Hohenburg Hortus Deliciarum* **(Fig. 6)**.

This idea of rejecting received opinion which is explicit in the penultimate line of the quotation encourages challenge of authority in order to pursue one's own quest for Truth. *Philosophia* is aware that it is difficult to abandon the comfort of the known but it is necessary in order to be free of servitude to the opinions of others. Another imperative, issued this time by Boethius is to 'implore God's assistance even in our least affairs' and 'invocate the Father of all things, without whose remembrance no beginning hath a good foundation.' In reply, Philosophia sings, 'O Thou, that dost the world in lasting order guide, Father of heaven and earth.' Belief in a higher order is affirmed although it is clear that Boethius is writing a philosophical, not a theological work. Not that there is any evidence of conflict between theology and philosophy for what Boethius wants most is to convey a sense of harmony between faith and reason.[25]

Anselm of Canterbury prefaced *Cur Deus Homo* (Why a god man, 1098) by explaining that his work 'contains the objections of unbelievers who reject the Christian faith because they think it militates against reason.'[26] Yet reason alone was not the key. Before *Cur Deus Homo* Anselm completed a number of other writings among which the *Proslogion* begins by urging 'insignificant man' to cast aside his mundane cares in order to abandon himself and to rest for a while in God. This demanded faith and, following Isaiah 7.9 Anselm explained, 'unless I believe, I shall

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[25] The latter would become a vital element of twelfth-century theological tracts, some of which denied Jews the capacity to reason which rendered them, in some opinions as dumb beasts. 'Let him [the Jew] read Isaiah... 'The ox knows its owner, and the ass its master's crib; but Israel does not know me, my people does not understand.' See, Jew, I am kinder to you than your own prophet. I have put you on a level with beasts, he sets you below them,' Bernard of Clairvaux, *Sermons on the Song of Songs*, 3, Sermon 60, p. 133.

[26] *Anselm of Canterbury*, *The Major Works*, B. Davies and G.R. Evans, (ed. and intro.), Oxford, 1998, p. 261. *Cur Deus Homo* purports to be a conversation between Anselm and one of his students, Boso. 'Dialogue' was a convincing way of conveying the facts of the matter as in Boethius's *De Consolatione*. However, like Boethius, Anselm was probably talking to himself, thinking aloud.

not understand.' So faith was necessary to salvation but the revelation of scripture must be understood, not merely accepted.

All the same, an element of contest between *Fortuna* and *Philosophia* is apparent and is crucial to understanding the whole point of the work. It is not so much that it is necessary to choose between the two but more that there must be agreement that reconciliation of these forces is not possible and that the only way to soothe the hardships *Fortuna* presents is to apply the balm of philosophy, always remembering that today's hardship may, in keeping with *Fortuna*'s chameleon nature, become tomorrow's happiness or that good may come from evil. It is necessary to accept those things that are seemingly beyond control and trust in innate capacity to transcend their ill effects. Above all it is important to note the relevance of *De Consolatione* to *Synagoga* and *Ecclesia*. Again opposing concepts are evident: 'Philosophia' means love of wisdom and *Ecclesia* / Mary is often portrayed as Wisdom for she is stable and constant but *Synagoga* is changeable and inconsistent.

Martianus Capella, *De Nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii*

Like the *Psychomachia* and the *De Consolatione*, Martianus Capella's *De Nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii et de septem Artibus liberalibus libri novem* (On the Wedding of Philology and Mercury and of the Seven Liberal Arts in nine books) was written during late antiquity but it is thoroughly pagan.[27] The *De Nuptiis* was a product of Martianus's old age and was dedicated to his son, also named Martianus. It has been suggested that, 'the fable was a necessary outlet; a receptacle into which he [Martianus] could work every scrap of erudite lumber and every excruciating quirk of

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[27] 'Pagan' has accumulated various meanings, some pejorative. In the sense that it is used here it infers a non-Christian bias.

his euphuism which was left over from the seven liberal arts.'[28] More recently, in her doctoral thesis Fanny Lemoine acknowledged that, 'the sheer diversity of the content makes an examination of the work extremely difficult. The *De Nuptiis* is a combination of so many various elements that it seems to have little or no coherence or structural rationale.'[29]

Gregory of Tours *c*.538-594 was more sanguine:

> Our own Martianus himself has given you instruction in the Seven Arts…he has taught you grammar so that you may read, he has shown you by his dialectic how to follow the parts of a disputation, by his rhetoric how to recognise the different metres, by his geometry how to reckon the measurements of surfaces and lines, by his astronomy how to observe the stars in their courses, by his arithmetic how to add and subtract numbers in their relationships, by his book on harmony how to set together in your songs the modulation and mellifluous sounds.[30]

Gregory's enthusiasm helped to secure the *De Nuptiis* as a set text through many centuries although it was Boethius's structure of the liberal arts that was followed in the later middle ages.[31] Inspired by the *Disciplinarum Libri Novem* of Varro (116-27 BCE), itself an encyclopaedia of the liberal arts, Martianus (*fl*.410-39) wrote the *De Nuptiis* in order to sustain interest in the function of the arts and the standards of classical learning.[32] Possibly as a result of Martianus's organisation the arts became codified as seven. Divided into two, the first part, the *trivium* comprised grammar, rhetoric and logic, sometimes also called dialectic. The second part, the *quadrivium* comprised arithmetic, geometry, music and astronomy.

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[28] C.S. Lewis, *The Allegory of Love*, *A Study in Medieval Tradition*, Oxford, 1958, p. 79.

[29] F. Lemoine, *Martianus Capella*: *A Literary Re-evaluation*, Munich, 1972, p.5.

[30] *Gregory of Tours*, *The History of the Frank*s, L.Thorpe (trans. and intro.), Harmondsworth, 1997, p. 603.

[31] Martianus had been most influential during the ninth and tenth centuries although he retained authority at Chartres in the twelfth century J. H. Huntsman, 'Grammar,' in *The Seven Liberal Arts in the Middle Ages*, ed. D.L. Wagner, Bloomington, 1986, p. 60.

[32] Varro included medicine and architecture but by the time of Martianus such practical knowledge was evidently surplus to the requirements of philosophers.

The *De Nuptiis* depends on allegory within which personification plays a vital part. Among the wedding guests are (predictably!) Rumour, the Cardinal Virtues but also Jupiter, Apollo, various other deities. The seven liberal arts are presented to *Philologia* by *Mercurius* as her maids. More generally, the *De Nuptiis* is not sparing in its treatment of the mysterious significance of numerology and this is in keeping with the wholly esoteric nature of the work. Books one and two of *De Nuptiis* focus on *Mercurius*'s search for a suitable bride, and on *Philologia*'s ascent through the heavenly bodies, her arrival in heaven, and the marriage itself, the union of the trivium and the quadrivium. Then book three is devoted to grammar, four to logic, five to rhetoric, six to geometry, seven to arithmetic, eight to astronomy and nine to music and harmony. In each of these seven books the relevant maid expounds the discipline in her particular art in order to make known what each comprises. However, what is not so apparent in Martianus's personification is the dynamic element that is so clear in the *De Consolatione* where Boethius and lady *Philosophia* are convincing as correspondents. While it is evident that these are abstractions, just as Martianus's Arts are, the latter are less successful because they are, relatively speaking, obliging and perfunctory; they only 'do' what they say they do and do not engage with readers on any level other than what is necessary. They do not ponder alternatives or invite speculation on innate capacities.

While it is unlikely that Martianus subscribed to the Judeao-Christian tradition, (though by the time he wrote *De Nuptiis* the Roman Empire was all but Christianised) readers of the *De Nuptiis* were, when so inclined, able to read between the lines and find aspects of Judeao-Christian spirituality. Mercury's search for a faithful bride was, like Yahweh's need of a faithful partner, painstaking and perfectionist. For her part, Philology 'was anxiously wondering whether this grand marriage was in her own interests.' Christian contemplatives might parallel Philologia's sense of incredulity with that of the Virgin when Gabriel announced the divine plan. The bridesmaids too might reflect some aspects of spiritual significance; Philologia's seven bridesmaids evoke Proverbs, 9.1 'Wisdom has built herself a house; she has hewn her seven pillars.' Ahasuerus provided seven maids for his new queen, Esther who, unlike Vashti, obeyed her husband's commands thus becoming a type for the obedient Mary (Esther, 2.1). The mystic marriage of Philologia and Mercury might also have created echoes of human knowledge and divine understanding appropriate to the celestial harmony between Christ and his bride, *Ecclesia*. Philologia's progress through the spheres might be likened to a journey towards the divine, culminating in her apotheosis.

But as Gregory made clear, esteem of the *De Nuptiis* lay in its preservation of learning. Despite its pagan content (ironically) because of it, this contribution to knowledge was readily acceptable by the Church because the Arts provided intellectual scaffolding for the highest discipline: theology. Furthermore, the pursuits of reason depended on the application of logic, grammar, and rhetoric, and were vital aspects of Jewish-Christian dialogues (if such they were) during, though not exclusively, the twelfth century. As a compendium of the seven liberal arts, one of the legacies of ancient Greece and Rome *De Nuptiis* formed the backbone of the curriculum during the middle ages. And, as is so of *Synagoga*, the liberal arts circulated in textual form before they made their entry into imagery and when they did they found expression in all aspects of artistic media although illustrated copies of *De Nuptiis* were a rarity. Perhaps not surprisingly, this coincided with the great increase in the respect for learning that was in keeping with the twelfth-century renaissance and of course, the foundation of urban universities and the various schools of rhetoric therein.

To summarise, it is evident that without the ‘ladies’ to navigate, the perilous streams of consciousness of the *Psychomachia*, the *De Consolatione* and the *De Nuptiis* might not be charted successfully. Personification enabled the concepts to ‘work’ with and through the reader. In the *Psychomachia* it is easy for readers to identify with the moral combatants. There is a profound interest in the winners and losers of the battle for the soul, not merely because of knowing the difference between light and darkness, but also because of the complexities surrounding moral and immoral decisions. In the *De Consolatione* it is possible to engage with intellectual combat to find a means of understanding human frailty. Thus it is possible to use reason rather than passion in order to resist the lure of Fortune and acknowledge her unpredictable and capricious nature, for ‘she’ is in a state of constant flux. The only way to tolerate such instability is to apply the unswerving truth of philosophy to soften the blows of her vacillation.

As guests at the wedding of Mercury and Philologia, Martianus (regardless of any cognitive impairment!) provided a command performance of the liberal arts so as to encourage awareness of the significance and value of the knowledge of antiquity. Perhaps unwittingly, the *De Nuptiis* may also have contributed to the nuptial imagery that became a feature of ideas accompanying the mystic union of Christ and his bride, solemnised after ‘divorcing’ *Synagoga*. While Martianus sought to articulate bodies of knowledge through the idea of union, the political and moral realities of marriage were debated among clerics throughout Latin Christendom with unprecedented rigour. By the twelfth century there was no doubt about its purpose.

Prudentius's opposition between Virtues and Vices established a pattern that prevailed as an element of Christian didactics particularly in visual art. Prudentius demonstrated how personification could act as a dynamic medium for the expression of moral conflicts and opposing forces; for every good trait of human character there would be a relentless counterpart trying even to tip the balance in its favour at the Last Judgement. The representation and reputation of *Synagoga* owes much to the strategies observed in this discussion not merely from Prudentius's input but also from the rhetorical adroitness of Boethius and the nuptial conceit of Martianus. The three texts created an awareness of the personification of opposing concepts, the role of reason and the ideas surrounding a celestial marriage. These issues permeate the relationship of God to *Synagoga* and *Ecclesia* who, as members of the same family are almost bound to fall out and to engage in conflict. Chapter 2 will discuss how such conflict often rendered *Synagoga* and *Ecclesia* as adversaries and how attempts to reconcile their differences were redoubled. Before that, however, it is appropriate to consider the emergence of *Synagoga* as an abstraction and to reflect on what she embodies.

Who is *Synagoga*, what is she?

'*Synagoga*' has more than one application. The word derives from the Greek, συναγωγή, transliterated sunagoge, meaning assembly, meeting or a gathering of people, but by transference, also for the building used by Jews for religious, educational and social purposes.[33] Therefore the word *Synagoga* functions like the

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[33] There is a lack of consensus as to when such buildings originated. In addition to the New Testament, textual sources include Philo and Josephus. Material evidence also supports a number in existence prior to the destruction of the Second Temple in C.E. 79. After this time synagogues replaced the

word *Ecclesia*; each means both a place to meet for religious purposes and the group of people therein, each group personified by female figures. As such, *Synagoga* cannot be traced to a specific need or invention in time or place. *Synagoga* is not known in classical mythology nor is she a biblical 'character.' Boethius's *Philosophia* was difficult enough to place. So too is *Synagoga* because of her transformations and functions.

In his commentary on Psalm 45 (the royal wedding song), Augustine used *Synagoga* to denote the Jewish people albeit more in terms of a collective noun than as a personification; 'who then gave birth to the Son of God in the flesh? *Synagoga*. He will leave father and mother; and who is the mother he leaves? The Jewish people, *Synagoga*.'[34] Still, while *Synagoga* can not be found in the sense of a person in biblical texts, there are other 'persons' who contributed to her genesis and the formation of her character. A key trope is the unfaithful wife as a metaphor for the disobedient people of God: Israel.

To put this in context it is useful to note that the Israelites were nomadic and encountered many religious practices that tempted them away from the strict monotheism demanded by the Mosaic covenant, (You shall have no other gods before me, Exodus 20.2). Canaanite rites included the worship of Baal who provided rain, ensured the procreation of animals and the fecundity of the land on which life depended. Baal could be coerced by witnessing human sexual activity; ritual prostitution was a common element of Baal worship. Although Yahweh was never entirely abandoned, the Israelites made doubly sure of the means of survival: they

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Temple as a place of religious activity and grew in number. A useful introduction to material evidence for early synagogues is R. Talgam and Z. Weiss: 'Synagogues before 800,' in J. Turner (ed.), *The Dictionary of Art*, Basingstoke, 1996, 17, pp. 540-543.

[34] Quoted in Seiferth, *Synagogue and Church*, p.33.

aroused Baal: ‘at the entrance to every alley you made yourself a high place, defiling your beauty and opening your legs to all comers in countless acts of fornication’ (Ezekiel, 16.25).

Specially appointed prophets communicated Yahweh’s anger with ‘Zion,’ ‘Jerusalem’ ‘Israel’ and ‘Judah,’ the nation states that were personified as adulterous wives whose infidelity to Yahweh’s covenant continued to be expressed in terms of sexual incontinence. Israel ‘has played the whore’ ‘her faithless sister Judah saw this’ (Jeremiah, 3.7-8) ‘you [Jerusalem] played the whore, lavishing your debauchery on all comers’ (Ezekiel, 16.16). Hosea’s own situation was a microcosm of Israel’s and in order to elicit empathy from Hosea, ‘Yahweh said…go marry a whore…for the country itself has become nothing but a whore by abandoning Yahweh’ (Hosea, 1.2).Israel’s transgressions might anger Yahweh but he would be merciful and compassionate:

> Writhe in pain and cry aloud, daughter of Zion, like a woman in labour for now you must leave the city and camp in the open country; to Babylon you must go, and there you will be rescued; there Yahweh will ransom you from the clutches of your enemies. (Micah 4.10)
>
> Look, the days are coming, the Lord declares, when I shall make a new covenant with the house of Israel and the house of Judah, but not a covenant like the one I made with their ancestors…which covenant of mine they broke (Jeremiah, 32.31-32).

Zechariah was even more optimistic:

> Rejoice heart and soul, daughter of Zion! Shout for joy, daughter of Jerusalem! Look, your king is approaching, he is vindicated and victorious, humble and riding on a donkey, on a colt, the foal of a donkey (Zechariah, 9.9).

As to the meaning of *new* covenant, the author of the letter to the Hebrews affirms; ‘by speaking of a *new* covenant, he [Yahweh] implies that the first one is old. And anything old and ageing is ready to disappear’ (Hebrews, 8.13). But, in the time between captivity and the coming of the king, if the daughters of Israel could be made to behave and live without rebellion, a state of harmony between God and the people would ensue, as before the Fall, when Eve was as much an aspect of Adam as being formed from his 'rib' suggests. This common yet subservient relationship is attributed in the Old Testament to Wisdom.

The Wisdom of Solomon is manifest in his dispensation of justice to the two women who both claimed to be the mother of a child. Solomon's solution was to cut the child in half so rather than see this happen, the real mother offered the child to the liar and Solomon got at the truth (1 Kings, 3.16-28). Vivid as Solomon's wisdom is, it remains his. The concept itself is more attainable when personified; 'before the mountains were settled, before the hills, I came to birth… I was beside the master craftsman delighting him day after day, ever at play in his presence' (Proverbs, 8.22 ff). Hence Wisdom is as close to God as Eve to Adam. Perhaps as a reminder of the folly of disobedience Wisdom says, 'come and eat my bread, drink the wine which I have drawn! Leave foolishness behind and you will live, go forwards in the way of perception' (Proverbs, 9.5-6). In Ecclesiasticus, Wisdom explains how, 'I came forth from the mouth of the Most High and I covered the earth like mist. I had my tent in the heights, and my throne was a pillar of cloud' (Ecclesiasticus, 24.3-4).[35] Later, she says, 'in the holy tent I ministered before him and thus became established in Zion…I have taken root in a privileged people' (Ecclesiasticus, 24.10, 24.12).

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[35] To the imagery of mist and cloud, smoke can be added as indications that God has been active: see especially Exodus, 13.21, 'Yahweh preceded them, by day in a pillar of cloud to show them the way.' In the *Song of Songs* (3.6) the question is raised, 'who is this coming up from the desert like a column of smoke breathing of myrrh and frankincense?' 'As invariably happens, the first to spring to my mind is that chosen vessel, St. Paul, truly a vessel of myrrh and frankincense and every perfume the merchant knows' Bernard of Clairvaux, *On the Song of Songs*, Sermon 12, I, p. 79.

Ecclesiasticus was written in Hebrew *c*.200-180 BCE by Ben Sira, whose purpose was to uphold the minutiae of Yahweh's commandments in respect of prayer, the Sabbath, circumcision and other holy rites enshrined in the Law during a period when the influence of Greek ideals threatened the survival of Judaism.[36] Ben Sira taught that observance of the Law itself was Wisdom.[37] Wisdom is 'no other than the Book of the Covenant of the Most High God, the Law that Moses enjoined on us' (Ecclesiasticus, 24.23). So, for all practical purposes Wisdom is the Law of Moses, often represented as the tablets of the Law and held by *Synagoga* to symbolise that she is the custodian of the First Covenant. The second, *new* covenant took Israel by surprise and was brought about through a compliant daughter of Zion, Mary.

The Christian tradition maintains that Mary was prefigured in some of the Sapiental writings of the First Testament, for example, those of Ecclesiasticus just mentioned and without a doubt here is an example of scriptural piracy. A piece written around 200 years before the birth of Christ was appropriated to identify his Mother. Thus it was Mary who 'came forth from the mouth of the Most High,' Mary who 'was beside the master craftsman delighting him day after day.' And not to forget Martianus, he would probably be surprised to see Mary visualised as *Sedes Sapienta*, the Seat of Wisdom, in the tympanum of the royal portal in Chartres cathedral surrounded by the liberal arts **(Fig. 7)**.

Hence, far from being the Law of Moses, Wisdom is now the Mother of the Word made flesh. These implications were far-reaching as it meant that *Synagoga* had

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[36] The first book of the Maccabees describes the desecration of the Temple in Jerusalem by Antiochus Epiphanes, 'rulers and elders groaned… every bridegroom took up a dirge, the bride sat grief-stricken on her marriage-bed' (1 Macc.1.1-28). Ben Sira did not live to see the Temple purified by Judas Maccabeus on 25th Kislev (December) in the year 164 B.C.E., three years after the first offering to the Greek god, Zeus.

[37] See also Baruch, 3.9-4.4, Wisdom, 8.23.

somehow to be refigured as the antithesis of Wisdom while leaving the authority of the First Testament intact. One way of ensuring this was to examine the content of the First Testament to see whether it had been properly understood: it had not.[38] Without changing a word, Christian exegetes found the means of excavating texts so that the *real* meaning might be discovered; the most useful tool in this endeavour was typology whose permutations are often surprising.

For now, it is useful to note that for some of the biblical passages cited above and at least for the purposes of poetic language, Israel, Judah, the daughter of Zion and the daughter of Jerusalem are synonymous. They function as figurehead abstractions and ersatz scapegoats that took the brunt for a nation's faults.[39] Following the siege of Jerusalem in C.E. 70 and the subsequent Diaspora, such personification was no longer meaningful. Imagery surrounding brides, grooms and weddings was a way of expressing the love of Yahweh for his people in terms that were readily understood. But for the faithless daughter of Zion, 'now like a widow, once the princess of states, now put to forced labour,' the consequence of the Fall of Jerusalem was disastrous (Lamentations of Jeremiah, 1.1). 'The crown has fallen from our heads. Alas that we ever sinned. This is why our hearts are sick; this is why our eyes

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[38] David's affair with Bathsheba was adulterous and led to the murder of Bathsheba's husband, Uriah after which David and Bathsheba were married (2 Samuel, 11. 2-17). However, if read 'properly' the affair and the murder of Uriah were justified because, according to Gregory the Great, 'often a particular event or action is virtuous in its historical aspect, but in its transferred meaning shows something evil; just as at times what is evil in reality can be interpreted prophetically as virtuous.' Thus the perfectly good marriage of Uriah and Bathsheba had to end in order to free Bathsheba from Uriah who, 'in reality' was Satan. David's marriage prefigured Christ's union with *Ecclesia*, the Church, P. Dronke, *Fabula*: *Explorations into the uses of Myth in Medieval Platonism*, Leiden, 1974, p. 31 and A. J. Minnis, *Medieval Theory of Authorship*: *Scholastic literary attitudes in the later Middle Ages*, London, 1984, pp. 103-8.

[39] Conversely, as Warner has demonstrated, the idea of Britannia or Liberty personifies all that is good about England and America, Warner, *Monuments*, *passim*.

are dim.' This verse was visualised in images of *Synagoga* portrayed with a crown either in mid air or on the ground (Lamentations, 5.16-17).[40]

Whereas the biblical citations may not have spawned *Synagoga* imagery, they contributed to her construction, aided by some of the Patristic writers. Augustine's commentary on Psalm 77 used 'Synagogue' in a hostile, disparaging way, in order to show that Church is superior to Synagogue: 'properly we say 'synagogue' of Jews, but Church of Christians, because a 'congregation' is wont to be understood as rather of beasts, but convocation as rather of men.' Augustine's attitude implies that Jews have been forcibly herded around like ignorant beasts and with about as much choice whereas Christians have been chosen, have come of their own accord and as noted, Bernard imitated these insults.[41] In effect, this is to say that Jews are born Jews and have no choice whereas Christians *become* Christians through baptism. Further, Hrabanus Maurus (780-856) an adviser to Lothair I and foremost cleric of the day also associated *Synagoga* with a lower form of life. In *Allegoriae in universam Sanctam Scripturam* Hrabanus Maurus used *asina* as a metaphor for *Synagoga* in the sense of the ass as a stubborn beast.[42] But the donkey, like Rumour might be as useful as it is seemingly troublesome; a donkey was chosen as God's mouthpiece to show Balaam the folly of his ways and a donkey carried Christ through the streets of Jerusalem. (Numbers, 22.22-35, Matthew, 21.1-11).

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[40] The Lamentations express remorse for the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon in 587 BCE. However, as with the *Song of Songs*, Christian exegetes, especially William of Malmesbury, found much here to relate to the individual soul and its yearning to be restored, H. Farmer 'William of Malmesbury's commentary on Lamentations,' *Studia Monastica*, 4 (1962), pp. 283-311.

[41] www.newadvent.org/fathers. *Congregari* is used in relation to a group of cattle, *Convocatio* to people.

[42] M. Schlauch, 'The Allegory of the Church and Synagogue', *Speculum*, 14 (1939), pp. 448-464.

From the foregoing account it is apparent that *Synagoga* is a synthesis of several sources that have a number of related elements: linguistic, scriptural, patristic and classical. *Synagoga* became an indispensable tool of Christian didactics. By the twelfth century *Synagoga* was a solid iconographical fixture especially in Crucifixion scenes where she ‘played opposite’ *Ecclesia*. For *Ecclesia* to triumph and to reign supreme as she desired, *Synagoga* was often though not always cast as an adversary and *Synagoga* imagery almost always demonstrates her subservience to *Ecclesia* in some way. Before *Ecclesia* became his bride, *Ecclesia*, *Synagoga* had to be an unfaithful wife and no longer fit to be the beloved, the favoured one of the Lord. To strengthen her defence, *Ecclesia* combed through centuries of *Synagoga*’s history for evidence of adultery and for any indication that it was she, and not *Synagoga* who had always been Yahweh’s first love. The following Chapter explores how this was achieved: how theologians and exegetes applied typology to establish the priority of *Ecclesia* over *Synagoga*.

Chapter 2 Brides of the Lord

The main aim of this Chapter is to demonstrate some of the means by which *Ecclesia* was justified as the 'true Israel' and how she would continue what *Synagoga* had unknowingly begun. Nothing that had been known to *Synagoga* could be ignored by *Ecclesia*, but could reach fulfilment. The concept of fulfilment pervades Christian doctrine and was founded on the authority of Christ. Following his address to the crowds in Capernaum (the Sermon on the Mount) Christ spoke of his role as the fulfilment of the Law:

> Do not imagine that I have come to abolish the Law or the Prophets. I have come not to abolish but to fulfil them. In truth I tell you, till heaven and earth disappear, not one dot, not one little stroke, is to disappear from the Law until its purpose is achieved (Matthew, 5.18).

The Law: the first five books of the Old Testament is the strongest binding element of Judeao-Christian relationship. Christian exegesis of the Old Testament included typology, a way of assigning some events or people in the Old Testament as 'types' or 'figures' in order to validate those events or people in the New Testament as their fulfilment. Paul touched on typology in his Letter to the Colossians:

> Never let anyone criticise you for what you eat or drink, or about observances of annual festivals, New Moons or Sabbaths. These are only a shadow of what was coming: the reality is the body of Christ (Colossians, 2.16).

A more succinct example, also from Paul states, 'Death reigned from Adam unto Moses...Adam who is a figure of the One who was to come' (Romans, 5.14).

Around 400 CE, a 'dialogue' *Altercatio Legis inter Simonem Judaeum et Theophilum Christianum* (*The discussion concerning the Law between Simon a Jew and Theophilus*, *a Christian*) shows how Theophilus uses typology to convince Simon that some events in the New Testament were prefigured in the Old Testament:

> The bunch of grapes brought back by the two spies prefigured Christ hanging on the tree, with you turning your back on him and us looking towards him (Numbers, 13). So also, the pomegranate which was brought at the same time is a figure of the Church, with its people marked out by the red of the blood of Christ. So also Hosea is bid to take a wife of fornication, i.e. the Church, which turned from the fornication of idolatry to Christ.

Simon interjects: ‘so the Church is a harlot! Theophilus responds: ‘only in refusing none who come to her.’[1]

In what follows, the characteristics and prevalence of typological interpretation are discussed with reference to various exegeses to demonstrate how typological analyses ‘proved’ that what was written in the Old Testament anticipated some of the events in the New Testament. Ideas surrounding the pre-existence of *Ecclesia* and hence her priority over *Synagoga*, implicit in the Strasbourg figures are also discussed. An account of ‘mystical marriage:’ the concept of a binding relationship between Yahweh and his people, Israel, is explored. That Israel was ‘divorced’ by Yahweh for her infidelity follows. Relevant imagery is included. The effort to understand the Hebrew of the Old Testament with the help of Jewish scholars is noted.

There is a discussion of the *Song of Songs*, from which the idea of *Ecclesia* as the Beloved, but also that of the reconciliation of *Synagoga* to Christ was extrapolated, particularly by Honorius Augustodunensis in his *Sigillum Beatae Mariae*, *The Seal of Blessed Mary*, written in the early twelfth century and from which his commentary on the *Song* developed. Two case-studies examine the

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[1] Williams, *Adversus Judaeos*, p. 302.

representation of *Synagoga* through the theme of her unveiling and reconciliation. The first is Abbot Suger's painted glass in the new chevet of St-Denis near Paris, one element of a very costly, highly publicised programme of artistic embellishment, visible to the countless pilgrims for whose benefit Suger enlarged his church. The second provides a dramatic contrast in many respects and focuses on the cycle of paintings that was once visible in the vault of the chapter house of Worcester Cathedral, the prerogative of the community of religious there.

Part 1: hiding and seeking (verbal typology)

A letter of 1128 from Bernard of Clairvaux to Henry Murdac commends Henry's Bible study:

> I hear, brother that you are reading the Prophets; think you that you understand what you read? If you do, you will perceive that it is to Christ, which they refer… He has long since left his hiding place in the Prophets and appeared unto the Fisherman.[2]

Bernard's understanding is related to typology for its supports the idea that the coming of Christ was 'hidden' in the Prophets. Bernard did not discover this all by himself. In the Gospel of Matthew, Jesus referred to Jonah and the whale as a type of his own death and resurrection; 'as Jonah remained in the belly of the sea-monster for three days and three nights, so will the Son of Man be in the heart of the earth for three days and three nights' (Matthew, 12.40, and see Jonah 2.1).[3]

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[2] B. S. James (trans.), *The Letters of St. Bernard of Clairvaux*, Stroud, 1953, p.155. Henry was the Abbot of Vauclair, Abbot of Fountains and lastly Archbishop of York.

[3] The significance of this appellation, 'Son of Man' is complex. The term occurs frequently in Ezekiel where Yahweh addresses Ezekiel as such: 'son of man, get to your feet; I will speak to you' (Ezekiel, 2.1). The Gospel of John provides evidence for the esoteric nature of the designation: 'the Law has taught us that the Christ will remain forever. So how can you say 'the son of man must be lifted up? Who is this Son of man?' (John, 12.35). R. Grant provides an introduction to the problems surrounding the appellation, Son of Man, in his A *Historical Introduction to the New Testament*, London, 1963.

The Gospel of John also associates Jesus with certain events of the past. In his conversation with Nicodemus, Jesus referred to the narrative of the brazen serpent; 'as Moses lifted up the snake in the desert, so must the Son of Man be lifted up.'[4] The implication is that just as those who looked upon the snake were healed, so will they be when they look upon Christ, when he is lifted up on the Cross. By placing himself between an event in 'history and one to come, Jesus confirmed his connection between past and present and explained the 'real' significance of the brazen serpent for his followers.[5] The most authoritative sanction for reading the Old Testament as precursor of the New is in the Gospel of Luke where Christ asserts his relationship to the past, 'everything written about me in the Law of Moses, in the Prophets and in the Psalms was destined to be fulfilled' (Luke, 24.44ff).[6]

The following extract is one of many typological expositions of Saint Augustine (354-430) from one of his most accessible works: *Concerning The City of God against the Pagans*.

> The actual measurements of the ark, its length, height and breadth, symbolise the human body, in the reality of which Christ was to come, and did come, to mankind. For the length of the human body from the top of the head to the sole of the foot is six times its breadth from side to side, and ten times its depth, measured on the side from back to belly. I mean that if you have a man lying on his back or on his face, and measure him, his length from head to foot is six times his breadth from right to left, or from left to right, and ten times his altitude from the ground. That is why the ark was made 300 cubits in length, fifty cubits in breadth, and thirty in height. And the door, which it was given in its side, surely represents the wound made when the side of the crucified was pierced with a spear. This, as we know, is the way of entrance for those who come to him, because

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[4] John, 3.14 recalls Numbers, 2.18, 'make a fiery serpent and raise it as a standard. Anyone who is bitten and looks at it will survive.'

[5] The authenticity of this and a number of other sayings of Jesus are open to questions raised by the study of form criticism, which emphasises the role of oral tradition in the gospels but is not within the scope of this dissertation. However see, F.L. Filson, *A New Testament History*, London, 1977, pp. 75-79 for a brief introduction to the subject.

[6] 'Destined to be fulfilled' and 'in accordance with the scripture' are phrases frequently used in the New Testament to support the notion that an incident or an event in the Old Testament was fulfilled by or in Jesus. I discuss the issue more fully in Chapter 3.

> from that wound flowed the sacraments with which believers are initiated.[7]

Augustine anticipated that a more thorough interpretation of the Ark might be offered and this suggests that he is not claiming to have the last word on the subject. The point to note is the expanse of interpretation of a small part of one biblical event and the ingenious rendering of its significance for Christians, even if one that would today leave stretch-marks on the imagination! In a later chapter Augustine was uncharacteristically brief; ‘what is the ‘’Old Testament’’ but a concealed form of the New? And what is the ‘’New Testament’’ but the revelation of the Old?’[8] Augustine’s pronouncement provided authority for the future to the extent that there was little more to be said on the validity of typology although contributions were never wanting. Many involved material display.

In *The Lives of the Abbots of Wearmouth and Jarrow* Bede described how Benedict Biscop travelled to Rome to procure pictures and devotional objects for his monastery and how they related events from the Old Testament to the New:

> He also brought with him pictures out of Our Lord’s history, which he hung round the chapel of Our Lady in the larger monastery; and others to adorn St.Paul’s church and monastery, ably describing the connection of the Old and New Testament; as, for instance Isaac bearing the wood for his own sacrifice, and Christ carrying the cross on which he was about to suffer, were placed side by side.[9]

Again, ‘the serpent raised up by Moses in the desert was illustrated by the Son of Man exalted on the cross.’ Bede explained: ‘the writing of the Old Testament overflows with such perfection that, if one reads it properly, it contains in itself all the

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[7] *Augustine*, *City*, Book 15, Chapter 26, p.643.

[8] *Augustine*, *City*, Book 16, Chapter 26, p. 687.

[9] *Bede*, *Ecclesiastical History of the English Nation*, D. Knowles, (intro.) London, 1910, p. 355.

mysteries of the New Testament.'[10] These 'mysteries' were paralleled with their correspondents in typological programmes in early-Christian catacomb art; Daniel in the Lion's Den and Jonah and the Whale encouraged a sense of triumph over adversity.[11]

Hence it was believed that there was an underlying harmony of the two Testaments, and that by revealing their mutual dependence, and with simultaneous contemplation of their organic roots, the New *in* and from the Old could be demonstrated. The concept of mutual dependence of Old and New is succinctly visualised in the figures on a twelfth-century baptismal font in the cathedral of Merseburg where the apostles are raised on the shoulders of the prophets **(Fig. 1)**.[12] The imagery expresses the idea that the apostles needed the basis and security of the prophets in order to see clearly. The arrangement recalls the much-quoted aphorism of Bernard of Chartres (d.*c*.1130) to the effect that more is seen when someone is raised on the shoulders of giants: those looking knew and could see what had been and what was to come.

The elder shall serve the younger

The element of contest apparent in the *Synagoga-Ecclesia* configuration at Strasbourg has many antecedents. Those in the Old Testament are particularly apposite because they are the source of some attitudes that were registered in *Synagoga*. The earliest is that of Cain and Abel, the sons of Adam and Eve (Genesis, Chapter 4). Cain was the elder and a farmer. Cain offered the Lord the fruits of the earth. Abel, a shepherd,

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[10] *Bede*: *On the Temple*, S. Connolly (trans.), J. O'Reilly (intro.), Liverpool, 1995, p. 18.

[11] J. Stephenson, *The Catacombs Rediscovered*: *Monuments of Early Christianity*, London, 1978.

[12] C.S. Drake, *The Romanesque Fonts of Northern Europe and Scandinavia*, Woodbridge, 2002, p. 96.

offered a lamb. The Lord preferred Abel's offering and Cain killed Abel. Cain was punished and, as his father Adam, Cain would till the earth but would not have yield for his labour. Moreover, 'the Lord set a mark on Cain; that whosoever found him should not kill him' (Genesis, 4.15). Other examples of rivalry between Old Testament characters include Esau and Jacob, the twins who struggled in Rebecca's womb. When Rebecca complained to God she was told; 'two nations are in thy womb, and two people shall be divided out of thy womb. And one people shall overcome the other: and the elder shall serve the younger' (Genesis, 25.23). Esau was born first, followed by Jacob, who held Esau's foot in his hand, trying to hold him back. Other incidents of jealousy include the wives of Jacob: Leah, the elder who was 'blear eyed' and Rachel who 'was well favoured, and of a beautiful countenance' (Genesis, 29.17).

Augustine interpreted the significance of Rebecca's twins to the detriment of Jews: 'As for the statement, ''the elder will be servant to the younger,'' hardly anyone of our people has taken it as meaning anything else but that the older people of the Jews was destined to serve the younger people, the Christians.'[13] In another work: *Tractatus Adversus Judaeos*, Augustine berates the Jews for what he believed to be their lack of understanding of their scripture:

> They do not understand the meaning of Isaiah xlix. 6: ''Behold, I have given thee to be the light of the Gentiles, that thou mayest be my salvation even to the farthest part of the earth.'' What have Christians to do with the Old Testament, now that we have discarded its sacraments and keep new ones; when we Christians do not practise circumcision of the flesh, and we eat food forbidden by the Law, neglect Sabbaths, New Moons, and Feasts and so not sacrifice or observe Passover with lamb and unleavened bread? The answer is that we do keep and observe all these things in a way that goes deeper than carnal observance. For we keep them all in their spiritual

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[13] Augustine, *City*, Book 18, Chapter 35, p. 698.

> significance. Thus the Old Testament belongs in truth more to us Christians than to Jews.[14]

Augustine's differentiation between 'carnal' and 'spiritual' is a significant element of *Adversus Judaeos* polemic and one that contributes to the reputation of *Synagoga*: her 'carnality' was base and instinctual and inferior to *Ecclesia*'s spirituality.

In Chapter 14 of *Enarratio in Psalmus* xl, Augustine sets out the relationship between Jews and Christians:

> The Jews are our attendant slaves, who carry, as it were, our satchels, and bear the manuscripts while we study them...When we argue with the heathens; we adduce the predictions found in manuscripts written by Jews.[15]

In his exposition of Psalm 59.10 Augustine exemplifies an attitude to Jews that would endure for centuries, and verified not least by Bernard of Clairvaux during the second crusade:

> As for us, we find those prophecies sufficient which are produced for the books of our opponents; for we recognise that it is to give this testimony, which, in spite of themselves, they supply for our benefit by their possession and preservation of those books, that they themselves are dispersed among all nations, in whatever direction the Christian Church spreads. In fact there is a prophecy given before the event on this very point in the book of Psalms, which they also read. It comes in this passage: As for my God, his mercy will go before me; my God has shown me this in the case of my enemies. Do not slay them, lest at some time they forget your Law, scatter them by your might. God has thus shown to the Church the grace of his mercy in the case of her enemies the Jews, since, as the Apostle says, 'their failure means salvation for the Gentiles.' [Romans, 11.11] And this is the reason for his forbearing to slay them–that is for not putting an end to their existence as Jews, although they have been conquered and oppressed by the Romans; it is for fear that they should forget the Law of God and thus fail to bear convincing witness.[16]

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[14] Williams, *Adversus Judaeos*, p. 313.
[15] Williams, *Adversus Judaeos*, p. 313.
[16] Augustine, *City*, Book 18, Chapter 46, p. 828.

Augustine's interpretations of the Old Testament are not shared by Jews. Anna Sapir Abulafia observed: 'it is the sharing of what Jews call the Hebrew Bible and Christians name the Old Testament that has lain at the root of much of the tortured relationship between the two faiths.'[17] The 'tortured relationship' is partly the consequence of Christian exegeses of the Old Testament which, as Augustine has demonstrated, upholds the 'correct' reading of the Bible. Further, desire to prove that the special relationship between God and Israel, solemnised by the First Covenant, had been transferred to the Church contributed to the formation of ideas about the perceived union of Christ and his Church, *Ecclesia*. Numerous Old Testament sources were scrutinised for validation especially to prove that *Ecclesia* was God's first love.

Part 2 Mystical marriage

Several repudiations of Yahweh's 'wife' in the writings of Hosea, Jeremiah and Ezekiel were noted in the previous chapter; how Yahweh gave her 'a bill of divorce' (Jeremiah, 3.8). Any hope that remained was not so much for reconciliation, as for a second marriage whose joy would be as if it were the first and with the new bride appropriately adorned: 'by my life, declares Yahweh, you will put them on like jewels, like a bride you will fasten them on' (Isaiah, 49.18), 'like a young man marrying a virgin... and as a bridegroom rejoices in his bride, so will your God rejoice in you' (Isaiah, 62.5). Hope of restoration was a source of comfort to Judah during the Babylonian exile when Isaiah offered re-assurance: 'the children of the forsaken one are more in number than the children of the wedded wife (Isaiah, 54.1).

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[17] A.S. Abulafia, *Christians and Jews in the Twelfth-Century Renaissance*, London and New York, 1995, p. 65.

> No more will you be known as forsaken, or your country be known as desolation. Instead you will be called, 'my delight is in her and your country the wedded,' for Yahweh will take delight in you, and your country will have its wedding (Isaiah, 62.4).

By the end of the first century however, and borrowing some of the imagery from the prophet Daniel, the Lamb, one of the many appellations of Christ, became the Bridegroom, and his bride, the Church:

> Let us be glad and joyful and give glory to God, because this is the time for the marriage of the Lamb. His bride is ready, and she has been able to dress herself in dazzling white linen, because her linen is made of the good deeds of the saints (Revelation, 19.7-8).

The bride was not *Synagoga*; the wedding was that of Christ and *Ecclesia*, his Church: 'the holy city, the New Jerusalem, coming down out of heaven from God, prepared as a bride dressed for her husband' (Revelation, 21. 2). In order to see how this came about, it is necessary to read back from this, the last book in the Bible, to Genesis, the first.

One of the narratives in the Book of Genesis describes the relationship between Abraham, Sarah and Hagar and it is the source for Christian validation of God's people and God's 'true' bride.[18] Abraham's wife, Sarah, was unable to conceive so their slave girl, Hagar, agreed to sleep with Abraham and consequently a son, Ishmael, was born. But, following the promise made by strangers, who arrived at Abraham's tent at Mamre, Sarah also had a son, Isaac. Before long, sibling rivalry developed. Isaac was apparently bullied by his half brother Ishmael and Sarah told Abraham to banish Hagar and her son, and they were cast out into the desert of

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[18] 'Chosen' is often applied here: 'of all the peoples on earth, you have been chosen by Yahweh to be his own people' but this does not sit comfortably. It is more appropriate to think of the Hebrews, (Israelites, Jews) as summoned for special service.

Beersheba. (Genesis, 18.2, 21.10-14). In his Letter to the Galatians Paul interprets the narrative in a way that shows Sarah to be worthier than Hagar.

> Scripture says that Abraham had two sons, one by the slave girl and one by the free woman. The son of the slave girl came to be born in the way of human nature; but the son of the free woman came to be born through a promise. There is an allegory here: these two women stand for the two covenants. The one given on Mount Sinai–that is Hagar, whose children are born into slavery; now Sinai is a mountain in Arabia and represents Jerusalem in its present state, for she is in slavery [occupied] with her children. But the Jerusalem above is free, and that is the one that is our mother...Now you, brothers, are like Isaac, children of the promise; just as at that time, the child born in the way of human nature persecuted the child born through the Spirit, so now. But what is it that scripture says? Drive away that slave girl and her son; the slave girl's son is not to share the inheritance with the son of the freewoman (Galatians, 4.21-31).[19]

Paul did not mention that God took pity on Hagar and promised Ishmael that he would make him into a great nation (Genesis, 21.18). But the Sarah-Hagar narrative is not just about two particular women and the need for surrogate motherhood but also about two women as the founders of great nations. Perhaps more importantly, the antitheses in Paul's account: slavery and freedom, nature and spirit, law and faith became the source for comparisons between *Synagoga* and *Ecclesia* and, like Hagar, *Synagoga* would be at a disadvantage. Sarah's pregnancy was the result of divine intervention as would be that of Mary, and Mary would become what she had always been, according to Christian exegesis: the 'true' bride. The justification for this claim will be reviewed briefly.

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[19] In some of the initials pages in Bibles of the thirteenth century Paul takes charge of Hagar's expulsion as is the case in Paris, Bibliothèque Ste. Geneviève MS.1180: 'The Maugier Bible' fol. 345, *Cat. Gen.*, I Bibliothèque Ste. Geneviève, I (Paris, 1898), 541-2. See L. Eleen, *The Illustrations of the Pauline Epistles in French and English Bibles of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries*, Oxford, 1982, Ill. 269. See also R. Branner, *Manuscript Painting in Paris During the Reign of Saint Louis*, Los Angeles and London, p. 206.

Part 3 Marked out beforehand

Ecclesiasticus identified Wisdom as she who ‘came forth from the mouth of the Most High,’ and who ‘was beside the master craftsman delighting him day after day.’ In his Letter to the Ephesians, Paul stated his premise for believing that God ‘chose us in Christ before the world was made’ (Ephesians, 1.3). Paul explained, ‘we received our heritage marked out beforehand as we were’ (Ephesians, 1.11). The Second Letter of Timothy also speaks of ‘this grace [that] had already been granted to us, in Christ Jesus, before the beginning of time, but it has been revealed only by the appearing of our Saviour Christ Jesus’ (2 Timothy, 1.10). The mysterious words of Christ reported in the Gospel of John (John, 8.58) ‘before Abraham ever was, I am’ are some of the scriptural foundations for the doctrine that Jesus and the Church he established had always existed. The teaching is illustrated in a Creation miniature in a thirteenth-century bible **(Fig. 3)**.[20] In the lower of two roundels *Ecclesia* occupies a portico (that might be interpreted as the entrance to a church) and carries her standard and chalice. Above is God who is in the process of creating the earth.

The idea that God created the Church ‘from the beginning’ concerned many early Christian thinkers some of whom are noted: for example, Irenaeus, *c*.130-200, Clement of Alexandria, *c*.150-215, Tertullian, *c*.160-220 and Origen, *c*.185-254. The concept of the pre-existence of the Church was also fundamental to Bede’s way of thinking for he saw the Temple of Solomon as a type of the Church.

> The house of God which King Solomon built in Jerusalem was made as a figure of the holy universal church which, from the first of the

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[20] Paris, Bib. Nat. Cod. Fr. 9561, fol.3, Seiferth, *Synagogue and Church*, fig. 47.

> elect to the last to be born at the end of the world, is daily being built through the grace of the king of peace, namely, its redeemer.[21]

Among the twelfth-century affirmations, the pronouncement of Bernard of Clairvaux is characteristically blunt:

> I should like you to consider with me three elements in the glorious work of our salvation which God, its Author, reserves to himself, and in which he forestalls all his helpers and fellow-workers: predestination, creation and inspiration. In accordance with predestination there was never a time when the Church of the Elect was not before God's face.[22]

The ineffability of this togetherness, like that of Yahweh and Israel, was simplified by the use of nuptial imagery of which there is abundance in the New Testament.[23]

Among these, the eschatological significance of Christ as the bridegroom is inherent in two parables in Matthew's Gospel, both of which use wedding imagery to emphasise the importance of invitation and acceptance (Matthew 22.1-14 and 25.1-13).[24] The first tells of a king whose invitations to his son's wedding were ignored and whose places were taken by others. The second is the account of the ten wedding attendants (or virgins) who 'took their lamps and went to meet the bridegroom' which is discussed in relation to the Last Judgement in Chapter 4. Both parables allowed the interpretation of the Jews as the invited guests unfit or unwilling to attend and Christ as the affronted groom. The distinction had essential ramifications.

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[21] *Bede*: *Temple*, p.5

[22] Bernard of Clairvaux, *On the Song of Songs*, Vol. 4, Sermon 78, p. 132.

[23] Among which: 2 Corinthians, 11.2, Ephesians, 5.21-33, Matthew, 9.14, Matthew, 22.1-14, Matthew, 25.1-13, Mark, 2.18-20, Luke, 5.33-35, Luke, 12.35-40, John, 2.1-11, John, 3.25-30, Revelation, 19.6-9, Revelation, 21.2.

[24] Neither parable mentions the bride; nor is the bride present at the marriage in Cana (John, 2.1-11). For an account of this, the absent bride and other aspects of New Testament bride imagery, see R.A. Batey, *New Testament Nuptial Imagery*, Leiden, 1971, especially Chapter 4, 'Gospel Wedding Feasts,' pp. 38-52.

Besides the New Testament and the iconography it inspired, there were other means of propagating the idea of a mystical union between Christ, the bridegroom, and *Ecclesia*, his beloved Church. Some contributed to the 'fact' of the divorce of the first wife, *Synagoga*. In the *De Altercatione Legis inter Simonem et Theophilum* of *c*.400, the Christian Theophilus states plainly to Simon the Jew the dismissal of *Synagoga* as God's partner: 'Christ rejected the Synagogue, and took to himself the Church.'[25] In his exposition of Psalm 45, which describes a royal wedding, Augustine, at about the same period as Theophilus, wrote:

> Let the Psalm now sound of Him, let us rejoice in the marriage-feast, and we shall be with those of whom the marriage is made, who are invited to the marriage; and the very persons invited are the Bride herself. For the Church is the Bride, Christ the Bridegroom. *Ecclesia* has been chosen from all mankind so the flesh wedded to the word may be the head of the Church. The bridegroom has come and the bride stands on his right. But she that stands on the left is no bride for she is the one to whom is said go forth from me into eternal fire.[26]

Between *c*.450-55 CE, Sedulius furthered the repudiation of *Synagoga*. In book five of his poem *Carmen Paschale* he writes 'then let *Synagoga* go, darkened in shame; Christ has been wedded to the Church in glorious love.'[27] The references bounce around the centuries but serve to demonstrate the persistent belief in the priority of the Church.

Part 4 'Playing' at divorce

The displacement of *Synagoga* in favour of *Ecclesia* was dramatised as *De Altercatione Ecclesiae et Synagogae Dialogu*s, a fifth-century text of one of a number

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[25] Argument between Simon the Jew and Theophilus the Christian Williams, *Adversus Judaeos*, p.299,
[26] http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/1801045.htm
[27] (Line 357). *Discedat Synagoga*, *suo fuscato colore*, *ecclesiam Christus pulchro sibi iunxit amore*, http://thelatinlibrary.com/sedulius5.html

of Pseudo-Augustinian writers.[28] *De Altercatione* extends the kind of invective manifested in *Altercation* debate and takes the form of a dialogue which begins by presenting 'two ladies' *Synagoga* and *Ecclesia*, both of whom make claims to be the bride of the Lord. *De Altercatione* is heard in the presence of the 'censors', both responding to the challenges and objections of the other. *Synagoga* is accused of the adultery which Hosea and Jeremiah deplored. *Ecclesia* rebukes *Synagoga*: 'you were mistress in the world, but now are only maid.' *Ecclesia* defends her own position:

> I am what you have been unable to be. I am the Queen who has removed thee from thy throne, the Bride, who, leaving idols behind has come down from the forest and the mountain. My bridegroom is fair beyond the sons of men, the King of Kings, who has set the marriage crown on my head, and has clothed me with purple, and has welcomed me when I came to him.[29]

Towards the end *Synagoga* concedes victory to *Ecclesia*: 'I grant this now. But I do not know the context just preceding, for I have listened but carelessly to those Prophets you quote.'[30] Thus, *Synagoga* admits ignorance and infidelity and concedes victory to a new and faithful beloved, the Church. *De Altercatione* embodied a strong element of dramatic tension and generated a sense of the triumph of the wise *Ecclesia* over the careless, unfaithful *Synagoga*.

The rewards of wisdom and the perils of stupidity are familiar from the Virtues and Vices of the *Psychomachia*. However, as Augustine's exegesis of Psalm 59.11 has shown, *Ecclesia* and *Synagoga*, while sometimes portrayed as antagonists, could not fight in order that one might be altogether annihilated. A persistent belief

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[28] The Vatican holds 10 MSS of the text. It is an indication of Saint Augustine's authority to find a number of 'pseudo' attributions. These include the fifth-century 'A treatise in answer to five heresies' and a sixth-century 'Against the Jews, the Heathen and the Arians: a discourse on the Creed,' Williams, *Adversus Judaeos*, p. 318.

[29] The crown was particularly significant in wedding imagery and indicated the solemnity of the occasion. See below, Vashti and *Ecclesia*.

[30] Pseudo-Augustine, *De Altercatione Ecclesia et Synagoga*, Williams, *Adversus Judaeos*, pp. 326-336.

that the preservation of the Jews was implied in Psalm 59.11 ('slay them not, least at any time my people forget. Scatter them by thy power and bring them down') meant that the Jews must survive in order to witness the 'truth' of the gospel but they would lose the honour of sharing a special relationship with God.

That this special relationship was suited to dramatic performance is demonstrated by the *De Altercatione* but, far from an isolated example, ecclesiastical drama was frequently concerned with the relationship between *Synagoga* and *Ecclesia* and 'plays' had multiplied since the fifth century [31] One example from the twelfth century is the *Ludus de Antichristo*, based upon Paul's second letter to the Thessalonians (2.3-12), which prophesied the coming of 'the wicked one' and is also a significant literary source for the portrayal of *Synagoga*'s character.

The *Ludus de Antichristo*

Many of the ideas concerning the Last Days originate in the Book of Daniel, and Jesus invoked this authority in his eschatological monologue in Matthew, 24.15, 'So when you see the appalling abomination, of which the prophet Daniel spoke.'[32] The anonymous author of the *Ludus* was indebted to the *Libellus de Antichristo* written by a French monk, Adso, in the tenth century for Queen Gerberga.[33] The *Ludus* may have been performed in order to boost the morale of Frederick I, 1123-1189 (Barbarossa) of the Hohenstaufen whose reign, (begun 1155) was permeated by conflicts in both secular and ecclesiastical courts. However, as Young has pointed out,

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[31] Williams, *Adversus Judaeos*, p. 338.
[32] 'Antichrist' is used only in the Epistles of John: 1 John, 2.18, 4.3 and 2 John 7.
[33] E.K. Chambers, *The Medieval Stage*, 2, Oxford, 1903.

‘as to the precise date with which the play should be associated, there has been no general unanimity of opinion.’[34]

The original *Ludus* manuscript survives in Munich (MS 194111) and through it knowledge of characters, ‘stage’ direction and other aspects of the drama are known although not precisely where it was originally performed. John Wright suggests that ‘it is possible that the play was written for a command performance in the Emperor’s court,’ and, given the numbers of ‘extras’ needed to represent all mankind at the End, the play would certainly have needed a large space.[35] The notion of a command performance is less appealing to Donald Bullough: ‘whether the *Ludus* was ever performed at the court or in the emperor’s presence we do not know. It is certainly not excluded.’[36] Gerhoh of Reichersberg (1093-1169) unwittingly provides evidence for its performance in church. In his treatise, *De investigatione Antichristi* (1161-2), Gerhoh complained of priests who allowed the performance of plays about the Antichrist in church thus rendering the place of prayer as a theatre.[37]

The *Ludus* begins with the three female allegorical characters *Gentilitas*, *Synagoga* and *Ecclesia*. Each argues claim to be the true religion, the one that will save mankind. The play includes what may have been the first occasion of *Synagoga*’s unveiling in public (by the prophets Elijah and Enoch). Wright observes some ambiguity in the rubric to this. He draws attention to *Tunc tollunt ei uelum* Wright suggests ‘it could also be interpreted to mean, ‘then they strip off *Synagoga*’s

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[34] K.Young, *Drama of the Medieval Church*, 2, pp. 390-391.
[35] J. Wright, *The Play of Antichrist*, Toronto, 1967, p.52.
[36] D. Bullough, ‘Games People Played’, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 24 (1972), p. 117.
[37] Wright, *Play of Antichrist*, p. 52, n.2.

mask' or blindfold…Synagogue was often pictured in medieval art as wearing a blindfold; the same could be true in this play.'[38]

First to appear is *Gentilitas* led by the King of Babylonia. Their song includes declarations of polytheism:

> The many different provinces
> The gods must oversee,
> To us are certain evidence
> Of their variety. (Lines, 17-20).

From the start of this very short play, *Synagoga*, with some sarcasm, declares that any hope in Christ's death is vain. Indeed, Christ is despised. When *Synagoga* and the Jews enter they sing:

> Lord our salvation is in Thee;
> In man there is no hope for life.
> To hope that we can ever gain
> Salvation in the name of Christ is vain.
>
> Strange, that he should fall to death
> Who offered life to other men.
> Is one who could not even save
> Himself, to rescue from the grave?
>
> As Ishmael despised the gods,
> So you are to detest this Christ.
> Not He, but Lord Immanuel
> Shall be the God adored by Israel (Lines33-44).

Ecclesia is the last to appear; her song is much briefer than that of *Gentilitas* or *Synagoga*:

> This is the faith where life is found,
> In which the law of death is bound.
> Whoever from our faith rebel
> We damn eternally to Hell.

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[38] Wright, *Play of Antichrist*, p. 95, n.72.

The entrances of various kings: the king of the Franks, the king of the Greeks, of Jerusalem follows. The Emperor of the Romans: the Holy Roman Emperor tells of his plan to bring all the kings under his rule and with little opposition, he succeeds. Then the Emperor goes to the Temple in Jerusalem. There, with *Ecclesia* he offers his crown and sceptre in to ‘the Emperor and Ruler of us all.’

The arrival of Antichrist is accompanied by Hypocrites and Heresies, his allies. Antichrist succeeds in winning over the king of the Franks but the king of the Teutons resists, that is, until by trickery Antichrist raises a dead man. When the Hypocrites go to *Synagoga* they flatter her recalling Deuteronomy, 7.6: ‘The Lord of thy God has chosen thee to be a special people.’ *Synagoga* cannot resist and goes to Antichrist singing: ‘you are here O Lord Emmanuel, whose glory is a crown to Israel.’ At this point it seems that Antichrist has all on his side but the appearance of Enoch and Elijah changes everything.

In no more than 22 lines Enoch and Elijah tell of the ‘Father’s Word’ and how he was born of a Virgin, suffered and died at the hands of the Jews: ‘Under Pilate they crucified Christ.’ Enoch and Elijah remove Antichrist’s mask and convert *Synagoga* and she declares her faith in the ‘Trinity of one Substance, Persons three.’ But all too late for Antichrist orders her and Enoch and Elijah to be led out and killed. Then a sudden crash of thunder has Antichrist and his minions run and *Ecclesia* sings:

> Lo, this is the man who made not God his strength.
> But I am like a green olive tree in the house of God.
> I trust in the mercy of God forever and ever.

Everybody returns and is welcomed by *Ecclesia* as she sings:

> Praise our God and all his servants,
> And ye that fear him both great and small.

What is really striking about the play is the representation of *Synagoga* and how she dies a martyr to Christ. *Synagoga*'s final words–'Our error shames us, but now our faith is sure; despite all persecution we shall endure' are unprecedented as a statement of conversion although the coming of the Antichrist was believed to herald the end of time and then the Jews would turn to Christ. That Enoch and Elijah would persuade the Jews to see the error of their ways was a long established belief and would happen before Christ came to judge 'all nations' (Matthew, 25.32).

The appearance and initial success of Antichrist was a warning, a call to repentance, a time of preparation to meet the Judge, an inescapable fact of life that occupied the thoughts of the faithful. The drama of the *Ludus* was a treat for those who were inclined to take it in. But the idea that *Synagoga* and *Ecclesia* would be reconciled was not the hope of the author of the *Ludus* only. Old Testament commentators were able to extrapolate *Synagoga*'s 'homecoming' from the *Song of Solomon* also referred to as the *Canticle of Canticles* and, the *Song of Songs*, the subject of the next section.

Part 5: the *Song of Songs*

'Let him kiss me with the kiss of his lips.' The first words of the *Song of Songs* proclaim its theme. The *Song* is about love and yields the richest source of nuptial imagery in the Bible. Of the thirty-nine books in the Old Testament the *Song of Songs* is one of the shortest and, despite centuries of interpretation it is still among the most inscrutable books of the Bible.

For the purposes of this discussion the main concern is with the reputation and representation of *Synagoga* as extrapolated from commentaries on the *Song*, but a brief account of the nature and purpose(s) of the text will show the background against which the many commentaries were developed. The *Song* comprises eight chapters and an epilogue and, like Proverbs, Ecclesiastes and Wisdom, was ascribed to King Solomon for which (probable) reason it was guaranteed a place in the Canon of Scripture, yet it makes no mention of God.[39] The *Song* is replete with imagery describing the exchanges between a man and his beloved. The meaning of these utterances has been lost through time, in translation and by the sheer remoteness of the lovers' courtship etiquette, whose murmurings are incomparable.[40]

The lovers have been variously identified: historically as Solomon and the Queen of Sheba and allegorically as the love of God for his people Israel, of Christ and his mother, of Christ and his Church and of God and the individual soul. These identifications are partly the outcome of applying the fourfold method of exegesis, which was a way of searching a text so that every meaning might be uncovered and partly the reflections of the commentator's train of thought. The fourfold procedure derived from Jewish exegetical methodology as developed by John Cassian *c*.360-435. Beryl Smalley cites one of Cassian's examples: 'Jerusalem, according to history, is a city of the Jews; according to allegory it is the church of Christ; according to anagoge it is that heavenly city of God which is the mother of us all (Galatians, 4.26);

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[39] H.H. Rowley notes, 'in the title it is ascribed to Solomon, but no weight can be attached to that tradition,' in his, 'The interpretation of the Song of Songs,' *The Journal of Theological Studies*, 38 (1937), pp. 337-63 at p.337.

[40] The most enigmatic verse of *Song* is 6.11: 'I knew not: my soul troubled me for the Chariots of Aminadab.' The subject was included at St-Denis, in Worcester chapter house, and in one of the illustrated versions of Honorius's commentaries and is discussed in those sections.

according to tropology it is the soul of man.'[41] A Latin rhyme came to the aid of the forgetful:

> *Littera gesta docet*, *quid credes allegoria, Moralis quid agas*,
> *quo tendas anagogia*.

(The letter teaches what happened, the allegorical what to believe, the moral what to do, the anagogical toward what to aspire).[42]

Commentaries on the *Song of Songs* prior to the twelfth century are numerous of which a few are mentioned.[43] Origen (*c*.185-254) who was head of the prestigious catechetical school in Alexandria for twenty years (211-232), wrote *Commentarium in Cantica Canticorum* and *Homiliae in Cantica Canticorum*.[44] Origen's commentary and the homilies remained the foundation for subsequent exegeses despite some disinclination among some *Song* scholars to accept that Origin was actually read in the early medieval period.[45] The commentary of Bede *In Cantica Canticorum* (*c*.673-735), although indebted to previous commentators (as mostly all were) looked for indications for the reconciliation of Jews and Christians. *Song*, 6.10: 'return, return O Sulamitess' formed the basis. Alcuin (*c*.737-804) a Northumbrian scholar and one of Charlemagne's theological advisers also contributed.

Among those of the twelfth century are Rupert of Deutz (*c*.1075-1129), Bernard of Clairvaux (as a series of sermons) and Honorius Augostodunensis, (d.

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[41] B. Smalley *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages*, Oxford, 1983, p. 28.

[42] Attributed to Nicholas of Lyra. See E.A. Matter, *The Voice of My Beloved*: *The Song of Songs in Western Medieval Christianity*, Philadelphia, 1990, p. 54. See also, Introduction to King James Version, p. XXX, http://www.apocalyptic-theories.com/glossary/b.html

[43] An appendix in Matter, *Voice*, pp.202-210, lists over sixty commentaries of the *Song* up until 1200. The twelfth century provided almost as many.

[44] Although Hippolytus of Rome wrote a commentary on *Song*, that of Origen (185-254 C.E.) is regarded as the first, a work amounting to five books, Matter, *Voice*, p. 26.

[45] Matter, *Voice*, p. 35.

c.1156). In England the Cistercian, John, abbot of Ford (from 1191, d. 1214) compiled his meditations on the *Song* as sermons, *Super extremam partem Cantici Canticorum sermones* to complete those begun by Bernard of Clairvaux. From the density of John's contribution it is apparent that his was a sustained effort to elaborate on all aspects of the *Song*. John's attitude to *Synagoga* is particularly relevant for its eschatological significance for which reason it is more appropriate to leave discussion until Chapter Four: *Judgement and Reconciliation*, along with that of Honorius.

In addition to the 'running' or continuous commentaries, comments on individual words or phrases, sometimes inserted between the lines, accompanied the text of biblical books: the *Song* is among the most heavily glossed books of all.[46] It is also important to note the rubricated versions of the *Song* in which short notes of advice allowed readers and listeners to know what each speaker contributed to the narrative (the text itself is ambiguous in this respect).[47] Bede's *In Cantica Canticorum* is one example.[48] Here, there are indications of who is 'speaking' to whom: *Vox Christi*, *Vox ecclesiae*, *Vox sinagogae* so that the *Song* unfolds as a performance with its *dramatis personae*.[49]

Many of the factors that contributed to the increased interest in the *Song* during the twelfth century may be subsumed under devotion to Mary, whose role in salvation history was established on the authority of gospels.[50] Luke, 1.29: 'Hail, full

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[46] M. Dove, *The Glossa Ordinaria on the Song of Songs*, Kalamazoo, 2004.

[47] D. J. Reilly, 'Picturing the monastic drama: Romanesque Bible illustrations of the Song of Songs,' *Word and Image*, 17 (2001), pp. 389-400.

[48] Royal 4 B IV Worcester, 1100.

[49] Matter states, 'as early as the second-century Codex Sinaiticus, these voices turned the poem into a drama,' Matter, *Voice*, p.57. Matter appears to have dated the Codex erroneously: it is of the mid-fourth century. While the Codex does not embody a reference to a dateable event, there are indications that it was copied at this time, one being that it uses the Eusebian method of dividing the gospels developed between 300 and 400 C.E.

[50] For a brief treatment of the many titles and their sources bestowed on the Virgin, see J. Pelikan, *The Christian Tradition*: *A History of the Development of Doctrine*, 3. *The Growth of Medieval Theology*

of grace, the Lord is with you,' Matthew 1.23, 'Look! The Virgin is with child and will give birth to a son whom they will call Immanuel,' was regarded as the fulfilment of the prophecy of Isaiah 7.14; 'the young woman is with child and will give birth to a son whom she will call Immanuel.' That Mary was the Mother of God became an unquestioned tenet of faith. And while Mary's bodily assumption into Heaven celebrated on August 15th had long been an occasion for celebration, there was no biblical authority to support it.[51]

Rupert of Deutz was an exemplar of Benedictine spirituality. His patrons included Abbot Cuno of Siegburg and Archbishop Frederick of Cologne. Rupert's commentary on the *Song*, *De Incarnatione Domini c.*1125 is, as its title indicates, a reflection on the coming of Christ through his Mother, Mary.[52] Divided into seven books, Rupert uses the events of the Annunciation, the Visitation, the Finding in the Temple and the Marriage at Cana to develop his Marian 'theology.'[53] A significant feature of Rupert's commentary is that it is generally regarded as the first to maintain a consistently Marian interpretation. Rupert puts many of the words of the *Song* into the mouth of Mary.[54] It is Mary who speaks the opening verse, '*Osculetur me osculo oris sui*:' 'let me kiss him with the kiss of his mouth.'

(*600-1300*), Chicago and London, 1978, pp. 158-173. The appellation Mary-*Ecclesia* is used to distinguish Mary as the type of the Church. This may owe its origin to a number of sources. The Book of Revelation (Apocalypse) 12.1 describes 'a woman robed with the sun and on her head a crown of twelve stars. She was pregnant and in labour.' From these, Mary as the type of the Church may have developed. Mary as a 'second Eve' obeyed the word of God, *fiat mihi secundum verbum tuum*: Be it done to me according to thy word, Luke, 1.38.

[51] The Assumption was celebrated as a feast day from the time of Pope Sergius I, 687-701, V. I. J. Flint, 'The commentaries of Honorius Augostodunensis on the Song of Songs,' *Revue Bénédictine*, 84, (1974), pp. 196-211.

[52] The title, *De Incarnatione Domini*, is found in the oldest manuscript, Brussels, Bib. Royale cod. 10608 (c.13), Matter, *Voice*, p. 173, n.32.

[53] R.Fulton, 'Mimetic Devotion, Marian Exegesis, and the Song of Songs,' *Viator*, 27 (1996), pp. 85-116.

[54] J.H. Van Engen, *Rupert of Deutz*, Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, 1983, p. 291.

Honorius's *Expositio in Cantica Canticorum* 'is throughout concerned with the marriage of Christ and his Church.'[55] Of his contribution, Honorius claimed that it 'was so complete that it seems never to have been commented on before,' a statement that suggests his desire to provide the best version of the mounting increments to *Song* commentaries.[56] Along with most twelfth-century theologians Honorius's commentary adopted the fourfold method of exegesis referred to above. He mentions this in his preface: 'this book is concerned with a wedding that is done in four *modis*, that is, historical, allegorical, tropological, and anagogical.' Honorius's work is complex but was widely read although he warned that it was, 'celebrated by the mouths of many, open to the minds of few' rather like Suger's windows.[57]

Honorius has not one but four brides to account for the universal authority of and the pre-existence of the Church. Ann Matter concluded that 'the Church, the bride of Christ of whom the poem sings, is gathered from the four corners of the world north, south, east and west by the Evangelists, into the wedding bed of the bridegroom.'[58] The brides also represent the four ages, through which the marriage of the bride and groom must pass: *ante legem*, *sub lege*, *sub gratia*, *and sub Antichristo*.

The omniscience of the Church is one of the distinguishing features of Honorius's exposition. While Bernard of Clairvaux pursued the theme of the individual soul longing for God in his sermons on the *Song* (1135-53) and Rupert of Deutz promoted devotion to the historical Mary, Honorius made the universal aspect

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[55] V. I.J. Flint, 'The Commentaries,' pp. 196-211.

[56] *Cantica canticorum exposuit*, *ita ut prius exposita non videantur*, in Honorius's *De Luminaribus Ecclesiae* , the compendium of those writers thought by Honorius to be of particular value to Latin Christendom, V.I.J. Flint, *Honorius Augostodunensis of Regensburg* (Authors of the Middle Ages: Historical and Religious Writers of the Latin West, vol. 2, No. 6 [with No. 5]), Aldershot, 1995, pp. 89-183.

[57] Matter, *Voice*, p. 59.

[58] Matter, *Voice*, p. 63.

of the Church the main thrust of his exegesis and he believed that whatever was said of the Bride of *Song* could be applied to the Church. However, Honorius broke with Pauline authority (Romans, 11.25) that at the end of time the gentiles would be saved before the Jews and this will be addressed in Chapter 4. Ahead of this, the idea of the repudiated bride is explored followed by some twelfth-century representations of the *Song of Songs*.

Esther and *Ecclesia*

Courtliness and intercession pervade both religious and secular writing and may have influenced interest in the *Song* especially during the twelfth century when, as Kitzinger observed the *Song* was the subject of intense speculation.[59] For those who could read, fiction provided many examples. When King Arthur fears he will lose his seneschal, Kay, Arthur offers Kay anything he desires to keep him at court but to no avail for Kay is (ostensibly) determined to leave. Then Arthur goes to the Queen and pleads for her help: 'what he refuses to do for me he'll readily do if you ask him. Go to him my dear lady! Since he doesn't deign to stay for me, beg him to do so for your sake.'[60] The Queen succeeds and Kay remains.

Courtly intercession is demonstrated in the Book of Esther with dramatic consequence and celebration. Ahasuerus, King of Persia arranged a banquet for all his army commanders and nobles. Ahasuerus's wealth was such that 'there were white and violet hangings fastened with chords of fine linen and purple thread to single rings on marble columns, couches of gold and silver on a pavement of porphyry...golden cups of various designs and plenty of wine ' (Esther, 1.6-7). Not to

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[59] E. Kitzinger, 'A Virgin's face: antiquarianism in twelfth-century art,' *The Art Bulletin*, 62 (1980), pp. 6-19.

[60] Chrétien de Troyes, *Lancelot*, in D.D.R. Owen, *Arthurian Romances*, London, 1970, p. 186.

be outdone, Ahasuerus's queen, Vashti, gave a banquet for all the women of the royal palaces during which she was summoned to attend Ahasuerus so that he could show her off to all his men. Vashti refused and counselled by his advisers Ahasuerus repudiated Vashti and sought a new queen. From the many maidens who were presented to Ahasuerus Esther was chosen although the King was unaware that she was Jewish or that she had been brought up by her cousin, Mordecai, the declared enemy of Haman, the King's executive.

Haman's hatred of the Jews led him to plan the annihilation of all those living in the Persian Empire. Esther knew of Haman's intention and bravely breaking protocol (for which the penalty was death) she went to Ahasuerus's private chamber to tell him of Haman's plan and to plead for Mordecai and her people, the Jews. Esther succeeded. Then, 'realising that the king was determined on his ruin, Haman begged Queen Esther for his life.' 'When the King came into the banqueting hall, he found Haman sprawled across the couch where Esther was reclining.' ''What!'' the King exclaimed. ''Is he going to rape the Queen in my own palace?'' (Esther, 7.8). Haman was hanged.[61]

There is no historical basis for the narrative, but Esther's intercession and her humility and courage guaranteed her a foremost place among Jewish heroines. It is

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[61] Esther's courage and the deliverance of the Jews from Haman have since been commemorated each year as a minor festival, Purim, during the month of Adar which may be in March-April, sometimes close to Easter. The Jewish calendar is lunar. 'Pur' means 'lots.' Haman wanted to establish the most auspicious day for the massacre. See Esther, 9.20-22 for the institution of the festival. Purim is the only occasion when traditionally Jews *might* drink to the extent that they cannot tell whether they are saying, 'cursed be Haman' or, 'blessed be Mordecai:' a time for merrymaking to a degree that would not be seemly during any other festival. However, the (sometimes) proximity of Purim to Easter often found Jews celebrating their deliverance from evil at the same time as Christians mourned the death of Jesus. The hanging of Haman created the potential for inter-faith hostilities. See A. Haverkamp, 'Baptised Jews in German Lands during the Twelfth Century,' in M.A. Signer and J. Van Engen (eds.), *Jews and Christians in Twelfth-Century Europe*, pp. 255-310, esp. pp. 275-6 and C. Roth, 'The Feast of Purim and the origins of the blood accusations,' *Speculum*, 8 (1933), pp. 520-526.

easy to see how the repudiation of Vashti could be regarded as a type of *Synagoga*. *Synagoga*'s disobedience had the same consequence as that of Vashti. *Synagoga* was rejected in favour of a new, acquiescent queen: *Ecclesia*. The idea is visualised in a miniature in the so-called Bible of Stephen Harding (the Citeaux Bible) completed under his direction in 1109 **(Fig. 4)**.[62] Christ is enthroned; his feet rest on a symbol of the globe and he raises his right hand to bless *Ecclesia* who stands at his right. Christ pushes *Synagoga* away with his left hand. *Synagoga* still wears her crown, symbol of her former status but appears not to carry her attribute of the tablets of the Law or her banner. *Synagoga* is crushed by the force of Christ's hand.

From the same source, on fol. 122 *v*, Esther appears as a crowned female whose demeanour and features are very similar to those of the Beloved on fol. 50 **(Fig. 5)** The crown is virtually the same as is the wimple and both the Beloved of fol. 50 and Esther carry a book in the right hand. There is clearly a strong visual affinity between Esther and Christ's beloved. So also are both revered for their humility and for expecting little by way of recognition. Further, Esther's intercession before the expected annihilation of the Jews foreshadowed the intercession of the Virgin at the Final Judgement for which purpose she is often included among the saints in Last Judgement programmes.

The influence of the Virgin is exemplified also by the plight of the little Jewish boy. The story goes that a little Jewish boy who went to school with Christian

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[62] Dijon, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS. 12-15. Originally the Bible comprised two volumes, the first of which was later divided to make the two volumes that are MSS 12 and 13 of Dijon Library. The second volume, MSS 14 and 15 contains the *Song of Songs* H. Costello, 'St. Stephen's Bible', paper given to International Medieval Congress, Leeds, 1998, pp. 1-12, esp. 3-4. Sincere thanks to Fr. Ambrose, librarian of Mount Saint Bernard Abbey, Leicester, for providing a copy of this. For detailed accounts of the illuminations, see also, Y. Zaluska, *L'Enluminure et le Scriptorium de Cîteaux au XIIe Siècle*, Cîteaux, 1989, pp. 63-111.

boys received Holy Communion with them in church and, on returning home, he told his parents about it. His father, a glass maker was furious and he threw the boy into the furnace. The screams of the mother attracted many among which some Christians arrived to find that the fire was out and the boy was unharmed. The boy explained that the woman he'd seen cradling a baby in the church that morning covered him with her mantle and saved him.[63] Such a tender response is a vivid contrast to *Synagoga*'s treatment in the Citeaux Bible example whose patron, Stephen Harding, an Englishman from Sherbourne, and third abbot of Citeaux sought the help of Jews to provide an accurate Latin text of the Old Testament. Harding's *monitum* includes:

> Astonished therefore at the discrepancies in our books, which all come from one translator, we approached certain Jews who were learned in their Scriptures, and enquired most carefully of them...The Jews, unrolling a number of their scrolls in front of us and explaining to us in French what was written in Hebrew and Aramaic in the places we questioned them about, found no trace of the passages and lines that were causing us so much trouble. Placing our trust therefore in the veracity of the Hebrew and Aramaic versions ...we completely erased all these unnecessary additions as is indeed apparent in many places... we forbid anyone from presuming to mishandle this book, whether by defacing the text by his nail or by jotting anything in the margin of a volume that has cost much toil and care.[64]

Harding's claim to have consulted Jewish scholars for help with the Hebrew is difficult to authenticate as is that of earlier attempts to obtain reliable versions.[65] But, as Hilary Costello points out, 'for Stephen authenticity and loyalty meant a sustained effort to get back to the Vulgate text as it had come from the hand of St. Jerome.'[66] In

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[63] For other accounts of the little Jewish boy, see M. Rubin, *Gentile Tales*: *The Narrative Assault on Late Medieval Jews*, New Haven, 1999, pp. 7-39.

[64] P. Matarasso, *The Cistercian World*: *Monastic Writings of the Twelfth Century*, Harmondsworth, 1993, pp. 11-12.

[65] Carolingian theologians were particularly keen to learn about the Hebrew text of the Bible. Theodulf of Orleans, Alcuin, Claudius of Turin and Agobard of Lyons were among those who endeavoured to improve on Jerome's translation and to secure the *Hebraica Veritas*. For a full account of Jews' contributions to accurate translation of Hebrew text of the Bible, see B. Smalley *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages* (3rd ed.), Oxford, 1983, pp. 37-185.

[66] Costello, 'St. Stephen's Bible,' p. 8.

the light of this remark it would be presumptuous to attach too much importance to Stephen's consultations with Jewish scholars or to take it as evidence of an attempt to establish amity between the testaments. Harding's consultation with Hebraists was driven by the need for an intelligible text for use at Citeaux but it made little difference to the propagation of the text beyond his cloister. Nor was it consulted by Bernard of Clairvaux, Gilbert of Hoyland or John of Ford for their commentaries on the *Song of* Songs.[67]

The initial page of the *Song of Songs* in the twelfth-century 'Giant Bible' in Montalcino visualises *Ecclesia* as the triumphant custodian of the Eucharist and the humiliation of *Synagoga* **(Fig. 6)**.[68] *Ecclesia* wears an elaborate crown and raises both elements of the Eucharist to Christ. Christ raises his right hand to bless *Ecclesia* but disregards the figure of *Synagoga* at his feet. Christ's attitude recalls ideas about footstools and enemies expressed in Psalm 109.1: 'sit thou at my right hand: until I make thy enemies thy footstool.' The verse resonates with a number of places in the Bible for example, Joshua 10.24, 'come forward and put your feet on their [enemies'] necks.'

Synagoga's outstretched body articulates servitude and defeat. The goat held by *Synagoga* is open to a number of interpretations, the most obvious of which is the association of it and the Damned in Christ's eschatological discourse in Matthew, chapter 25.32-3 where Christ warns that the shepherd will separate sheep from goats, and goats will be rejected. The goat also associates *Synagoga* with a lower form of life, of peasantry and rural existence so often the butt of jokes.[69] A goat alludes to iniquity and recalls the scapegoat of Leviticus 16.22, 'and the goat will bear all their

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[67] Costello, 'St. Stephen's Bible,' p. 11.
[68] Montalcino, Bib. Com. Cod s.s., vol. II, fol. 56*r*, Schreckenberg, *Jews in Christian Art*, p. 37, 4.
[69] See especially, P. Freedman, *Images of the Medieval Peasant*, Stanford, 1999, *passim*.

guilt away into some desolate place.' The prophecy of Isaiah begins with a tirade against sacrifices and warns that Yahweh takes 'no pleasure in the blood of bulls and lambs and he-goats' (Isaiah, 1.11). *Synagoga*'s goat therefore incurs the indifference of Yahweh and Isaiah's lament for Jerusalem (1.21-28) describes the punishment she can expect. On a more prosaic note, when *Synagoga* is represented with a goat it may be a covert indication of the allegation that Jewish butchers sold to Christians meat that was ritually unfit for Jews' consumption.[70]

But *Synagoga*'s goat can also be seen as a symbol of the lust and carnality that was so often levelled at Jews in *Adversus Judaeos* tracts or, as has been suggested, as an element of an expiatory rite no longer acceptable to God.[71] In respect of the latter, recalling Psalm 41.6-7, the Letter to the Hebrews shows how Christ's sacrificial death disqualified all the sacrifices of the Mosaic Law: 'Bulls' blood and goats' blood are incapable of taking away sins. That is why he said, on coming into the world: you wanted no sacrifice or cereal offering, but gave me a body' (Hebrews, 10.4-5).

Accusations of carnality were levelled against the Jews particularly in their reading of the Mosaic Law. Denunciations of the bodily marks of allegiance, such as circumcision and dietary laws, were a common aspect of *Adversus Judaeos* writings. Among the most vituperative of the twelfth-century writers was Peter the Venerable of Cluny *c*.1094-1106. His *Adversus Iudaeorum inveteratum duritiem* (Against the inveterate obstinacy of the Jews, *c*.1144) include*s*, 'Were these things [miracles] done simply so that you, O Jew could fill your stomachs with all kinds of foods and meats?

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[70] J. Parkes, *The Jew in the Medieval Community*: *A study of his Political and Economic Situation*, New York, 1976, p. 258.

[71] See A. Sapir Abulafia, 'Bodies in the Jewish-Christian Debate' in S.Kay and M.Rubin (eds.), *Framing Medieval Bodies*, Manchester, 1994, pp. 123-137.

Were these things done simply so that you might become intoxicated and snore like a drunk?'[72]

Some illustrations to the *Song of Songs* confirm the place of *Ecclesia* as the bride without reference to *Synagoga*. The Bible of St-Vaast, the work of several scribes at that monastery, which had been reformed under Richard of Saint-Vanne soon after his arrival in 1008, is such an example.[73] The illustration on fol.141*v*. accompanies the inscription, *Osculetur me osculo oris Sui* (let him kiss me with the kiss of his mouth) **(Fig. 7)**. The illustration evokes *Song*, 1.4 'the king has brought me into his rooms' and resonates with the wedding song of Psalm 45 .14 'the king's daughter is led within.' The frame includes intricate interlace which enhances the complexity of the scene. Above the inscription twelve circles enclose the signs of the zodiac which can be read on several levels.

The circle was regarded as the perfect geometrical shape and was linked to ideas about creation and God's control of the planets and to the concept of eternity. Circles bring to mind the seasonal element of *Song*, chapter 2.11-12: 'Come then, my beloved, my lovely one, come. For see, winter is past, the rains are over and gone. Flowers are appearing on the earth. The season of glad songs has come.' But this is secondary to the Zodiac as an indication of the cosmic location of the imminent union between Christ and his beloved, whose figures are enclosed in the inner circle from which all else radiates.

Christ is enthroned and his feet rest on a symbol of the globe, a reference to his mastery of the divine order. Behind Christ, an architectural setting suggests the

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[72] Cohen, *Living Letters*, p. 256.
[73] Arras, Bibl. Municapale, MS. 559, vol. 2, fol.141*v*, W. Cahn, *Romanesque Bible Illumination*, New York, 1982, p.111, ill. 68.

‘rooms’ of Chapter1.4, ‘the king has brought me into his rooms’ but perhaps also to a church. Christ’s right hand is raised: he is speaking; the left holds a book. A woman approaches from his left, raising her right hand to indicate that she is speaking to Christ. The woman’s identity cannot be confirmed by inscription or attribute, and although she has no halo to distinguish her as holy, she is surely Christ’s bride, *Ecclesia*.

More intimate is the configuration of Christ and *Ecclesia* on the opening page of the *Song* in the Bible of Alardus, Saint-Amand compiled *c*.1100 **(Fig. 8)**.[74] Christ and *Ecclesia* stand in the middle of the letter *O* (*Osculetur*) and embrace, their faces touching. Their respective identities are confirmed by inscriptions. A single cruciform halo unites their youthful faces. Another example of intimacy is provided in an illustration to the opening lines of Bede’s commentary on the *Song*.[75] Christ and his beloved share a throne and an embrace. Their sanctity is evident only from the halos surrounding the heads **(Fig. 9)**. The simplicity and relative naïveté of the affection in these examples might be contrasted with the celestial hierarchy and regal solemnity that is apparent in more lavish undertakings in public sites such as the mosaic in the conch of the central apse of Santa Maria in Trastevere in Rome, completed under the direction of Pope Innocent II in 1148 **(Fig. 10)**.

Surrounded by an entourage of past and present saintly figures are Christ and Mary seated on a throne.[76] The configuration is a visual statement of power-sharing, and it represents an unprecedented aspect of Marian iconography that reflects her relationship to Christ and the homage paid to her especially in relation to the

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[74] Valenciennes, Bib.Mun. MS.10, fol.113 Cahn, *Romanesque Bible Illumination* p. 113,colour pl.70.

[75] Cambridge, King’s College, MS. 19, fol. 21*v*.

[76] Innocent appears on Mary’s right with a model of the church.

Assumption.[77] The purpose of the imagery is endorsed by the inscriptions on Mary's scroll and on Christ's book. The latter reads, '*Veni electa mea*, *et ponam in te thronum meam*.' (Come, thou whom I have chosen and I shall place my throne in thee).[78] Mary's scroll responds, '*Laeva ejus sub capite meo et dextera illius amplexabitur me*.' (His left hand will be under my head and his right hand will encircle me).

Mary's verse is inspired by *Song*, 2.6 and both this and Christ's verse from antiphons for the feast of the Assumption in the *Liber Responsalis* is attributed to Pope Gregory the Great, 590-604.[79] The Santa Maria in Trastevere embrace lacks the intimacy of the biblical examples and is ostentatious for the purpose of making a statement. The Christ–Mary configuration signifies power and solidarity and somehow resonates with that of the four tetrarchs in Venice where arms around shoulders betoken stateliness and strength and an indissoluble bond **(Fig. 11)**.

Conclusion

The descriptions and interpretations of the texts and images on which the above sections of Chapter 2 are based, are a significant contribution to the argument for the repudiation of *Synagoga* in favour of *Ecclesia* as Bride of the Lord. That typology was the most persistent strategy was clearly demonstrated as was the notion of *Synagoga*'s subservience to *Ecclesia*, one of the consequences of *Synagoga*'s 'divorce.' The importance of the *Song of Songs* and the relevance of some of its

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[77] D. Kinney, 'The Apse Mosaic of Santa Maria in Trastevere,' in E Sears (ed.) *Reading Medieval Images*: *the Art Historian and the Object*, Ann Arbor, 2002, pp.19-26.

[78] Evidently this is a mosaic's mistake; it should read, '*ponam te in thronum*.' See E.Mâle, *The Early Churches of Rome*, London, 1960, p. 141.

[79] E.Mâle made a connection between the installation of the apse at Santa Maria in Trastevere and a window in Notre Dame in Paris, the gift of Abbot Suger. Mâle maintained that Innocent might have used the imagery of Suger's window as inspiration for the Santa Maria in Trastevere mosaic. See E. Mâle, *Religious Art in France*: *The Twelfth Century*: *A Study of the origins of Medieval Iconography*, Princeton, New Jersey, 1966, pp.185-6.

twelfth-century commentaries and illustrations were discussed; the emphasis on the return of *Synagoga* in Honorius's *Expositio in Cantica Canticorum* deferred until Chapter 4: Judgement and Reconciliation. The imagery of the Santa Maria Trastevere mosaic provided a contrast to the relative simplicity of the biblical *Song of Songs* illustrations and introduced in a monumental setting, the representation of the special relationship between Christ and *Ecclesia* as a royal couple. Although the sources of the repudiation of *Synagoga* are considerable, *Synagoga*'s return to Christ was also demonstrated visually and in two case-studies, the first of which is set in the glazing programme of the abbey church of St-Denis near Paris, (1140-44), the unveiling of *Synagoga* and her reconciliation to Christ are further explored.

Chapter 2 Part 3: *Synagoga* at St-Denis

> Yahweh has singled out Bezalel …and has filled him with the spirit of God in wisdom, knowledge and skill in every kind of craft: in designing and carrying out work in gold and silver and bronze, in cutting stones to be set, in wood carving and in executing every kind of work, Exodus, 35.30-34.

Among art historians it is well known that not since Bezalel had there been such an account of building, furnishing and beautification of the sanctuary of the Lord as that provided by Abbot Suger in his account of the amplification and aggrandisement of his abbey church of St-Denis near Paris, (which 'increments' he attributed to 'the generous munificence of Almighty God').[1] 'The multiplication of improved possessions, the construction of buildings, the accumulation of gold, silver, most precious gems and very good textiles' are among Suger's memorable claims in his account of the great labours. Suger enlarged the east end of the church to make provision for a new choir ostensibly because the old one had become 'detrimental to health' and 'because of the increase in our community.' Elevated by 15 steps, the choir exalted the shrine of the titular saint, Denis. An ambulatory accommodated chapels devoted to various saints. Other work at the east end included the frontal altar panel of St-Denis, a gift of Charles the Bald which was encased in golden panels. Altars that had been neglected were also restored. Suger was not inclined to waste.

In this section I will argue that Suger was aware of the deterioration of Jewish–Christian relationships following the first crusade and that he was influenced theologically, by the concept of reconciliation of Jews and Christians, and politically

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[1] This section of the dissertation is indebted to *Sugerii Abbatis Sancti Dionysii Liber De Rebus In Administratione Sua Gestis* XXXIV and Part Two, *Libellus Alter De Consecratione Ecclesiae Sancti Dionysii*, in, Abbot *Suger and its Art Treasures on the Abbey Church of St-Denis*, E. Panofsky, (ed, trans. and annotated), (2nd edition G. Panofsky-Soergel) Princeton, New Jersey, 1979.

and spiritually by the vicissitudes of the matrimonial affairs of Philip I (1060-1108) and his son, Louis VI to whom Suger was counsellor.

Jews had thrived in and around Paris since the ninth century.[2] When Innocent II visited Paris in 1131 Suger described the scene in his *Vita Ludovici Grossi Regis*.[3] The Pope arrived during Holy Week and so great was the welcome that

> Some people went ahead of the procession and tossed out handfuls of coins, so that they could move back the crowd, which was getting in the way. A troop of knights and even members of that blind synagogue of Paris came forward and offered him the scroll of the Law beneath a veil. They received this merciful and pious prayer from his mouth: 'may almighty God take away the veil from your hearts.[4]

Suger had an incentive to make public his private thoughts on a scheme of iconography that called for reconciliation between Jew and Christian following the outrages of the first crusade 40 years earlier. Suger was aware that a scheme of carefully conceived imagery could convey the 'harmony of the testaments' more effectively than theological treatises, and to a wider audience.

The 'splendid variety of new windows' which were installed in 1140-44 is the visual focus and the influences that affected the representation of Christ unveiling *Synagoga* are explored **(12)**. A plan by Louis Grodecki shows the arrangement of the chapels therein **(13)**.[5] The windows were arranged as diptychs set low in the wall (uniquely within reach, touchable) illuminating the seven chapels. Suger mentioned

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[2] The Jewish community resided in the centre of Paris and had been an element of Parisian society since the time of Gregory of Tours. See R. Anchell, 'The Early History of the Jewish Quarter in Paris,' *Jewish Social Studies*, 2 (1940), pp. 45-60.

[3] Suger, *The Deeds of Louis the Fat*, R. Cusimano and J. Moorhead, (trans., intro and notes), Washington, D.C. 1992.

[4] Suger, *Deeds* pp.148-9. See also, E., A. Synan, *The Popes and the Jews in the Middle Ages*, New York and London, 1965, p. 79, 'The Pope received the scroll from their hands with ceremony to symbolise the fact that the Jews have provided Christians with the essential part of their inheritance. Lest the real distinction between Judaism and Christianity be submerged in this proclamation of their continuity, the Pope recited a formula to express his acceptance of the Hebrew scriptures, but also his simultaneous rejection of the interpretation given them by normative Judaism.'

[5] L. Grodecki, *Les Vitraux De Saint-Denis Etude Sur le Vitrail Au X11Siecle*, (Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi), 1 Paris, 1976, p. 31.

three of the windows: the *Tree of Jesse*, the *Life of Moses* and what has been dubbed as the '*Anagogical*' window by Panofsky and as the *Allegories of St. Paul* window by Grodecki. Grodecki's description is more to the point and is used here. Suger left no indication as to the location of the Allegories of St. Paul window but Grodecki argued for the chapel of St. Peregrinus, one of the seven chapels radiating from the chevet. Suger's claim for the window was that it would 'urge us onward from the material to the immaterial.' How Suger understood the implication of this claim is open to question and has been discussed at length by art historians but it is of no concern at this stage.[6]

The Allegories of St. Paul window measures H, 4.20 m, W, 1.80m and comprises five scenes in medallions surrounded by a foliage border and half circles. The five scenes are: the Quadriga of Aminadab, the Lion and the Lamb unsealing the Book, the Unveiling of Moses, the Mystic Mill and the Unveiling of *Synagoga*. How the scenes were originally disposed or how they were 'read' cannot be ascertained: the crucial issue is the coherency of the parts in the whole.[7] Like the Worcester programme which is discussed in the next section, Suger's window had the benefit of verses for those who could read and understand Latin. In the unique account of accomplishments, Suger's ardour for the window of which it was a part, stopped short of reference to Christ unveiling *Synagoga* possibly because he felt it was self-evident and did not need an explanatory verse or other comment.

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[6] 'Suger in no way says that the windows in general urge their viewers onward from material to immaterial things. He says that *one* of these windows, that is, panels urges its viewers onward from material to immaterial things, and this is the introductory panel of the anagogical window,' C. Rudolph, *Abbot Suger of St-Denis Church and State in Early Twelfth-Century France*, London and New York, 1998, p. 57.

[7] 'Reading' medieval painted glass does not necessarily follow a regular pattern although M.Camille would not agree: 'with stained-glass windows the direction of reading is not from top to bottom, nor from left to right as one might scan a written page, but from the lowest point. Medieval narratives move upwards' M.Camille, *Gothic Art*, London, 1996, p. 75.

Veils and unveiling

Relative to the frequency of representations that call attention to her 'blindness,' the unveiling of *Synagoga* is rare. Unveiling shows how biblical commentators, patrons and designers express *Synagoga* as willing to see what they perceive as the folly of her ways and thus be included in salvation history, albeit on their terms: baptism. Given the complexities of the other scenes in the window, that of Christ between *Ecclesia* and *Synagoga* is self-evident although this does not compensate for Suger's lack of comment on it **(14)**. Seven doves surround the upper part of Christ's body, a reminder of the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit that derive ultimately from Isaiah 11.1-4 where the virtues of the Messiah are described.[8] But the recollection of Isaiah is not the only function of the symbolism: of these seven doves, one is situated in the middle of the upper part of the body of Christ. The remainder radiate from this and are dispersed equally between *Synagoga* and *Ecclesia*: the two are merged in and by the Holy Spirit, third person of the Trinity to whom the matutinal altar in the abbey church was dedicated.

There is another emphasis on the unity of *Synagoga* and *Ecclesia*. As Christ lifts the veil from *Synagoga*'s eyes, he places a crown on the head of *Ecclesia*. Christ's simultaneous attentiveness to the two faiths confirms their equality. The use of colour (at least as it appears in the restorations) also supports a sense of unity:

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[8] Wisdom, Understanding, Counsel, Fortitude, Knowledge, Piety, Fear of the Lord. The number of sacraments my also be relevant and although it cannot be ascertained precisely when seven originated an anonymous tract, *Sentences of Divinity c.*1145 'may have been the first to list the seven that became canonical.' See J. Pelikan, *The Growth of medieval Theology 600-1300*, p.209. J. Van Engen speaks of the early twelfth century as a time when 'discussion of man's growth in sanctity acquired a new focal point in the teaching regarding the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit. Elaborating upon ideas found already in Saint Augustine and Saint Gregory the Great, spiritual writers depicted the seven gifts of the Spirit as allied with the seven virtues in a fierce struggle against the seven vices.' See J. Van Engen, 'Theophilus Presbyter and Rupert of Deutz: The Manual Arts and Benedictine Theology in the Early Twelfth Century' *Viator*, 2 (1980), pp. 147-63.

Ecclesia's mantle is green; *Synagoga*'s is red. Christ's garments combine both colours. Lastly, *Synagoga* and *Ecclesia* have their faces turned towards Christ and are equally engaged with him. While the crown empowers *Ecclesia*, *Synagoga* is empowered also. Like Paul who was temporarily blinded while on the way to Damascus where he planned more persecution of Christ's followers, *Synagoga*'s stubborn hostility has been reversed and she is willing to see and acknowledge Christ. The interdependence of the unveiling of *Synagoga* and the crowning of *Ecclesia* is clear: both occur at the same time. Empowered by the grace of the Holy Spirit, the removal of mystery from the First covenant enabled the Second to be seen as its fulfilment and with this, the real Bride of the Lord, *Ecclesia*, who is accepted by *Synagoga*.

Some ideas of veil imagery and as it might apply to the unveiling of *Synagoga* and to the scene of the unveiling of Moses is appropriate at this point.

> Unhappy race, in that they covered their trembling eyes before the dazzling light and pressed close their garments to veil their faces! But we have thrown back the veil and see Christ in person, looking upon God with countenance uncovered.[9]

Prudentius recalled Exodus 34.33 (the theophany on Mount Sinai) 'when Moses had finished speaking to them [the Israelites] he put a veil over his face.' Verse 35 reads, 'then Moses would put the veil back over his face until he went to speak to him next time.' Exodus 34.33 and 35 describe how Moses donned a veil during the theophany on the mountain and in his dealings with Aaron and the Israelites. Isaiah explained how Yahweh 'has destroyed the veil which used to veil all peoples' (Isaiah, 25.7). In 2 Corinthians, 3.13-16, Paul referred to the veil:

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[9] Prudentius, *The Divinity of Christ*, H.J. Thomson, (trans.), Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1949, p. 145.

> Moses put a veil over his face so that the Israelites should not watch the end of what was transitory. But their minds were closed; indeed, until this very day, the same veil remains over the reading of the Old Testament: it is not lifted, for only in Christ is it done away with...and this veil will not be taken away until they turn to the Lord…all of us, with our unveiled faces like mirrors reflecting the glory of the Lord.[10]

The image of 'unveiled faces like mirrors reflecting glory' recalls what was noted in Chapter 1 in the very brief mention of Plato's cave. Paul affirmed that until Christ came, the life of a Christian was only a shadow and that the reality that is glory, is now his.

The Letter to the Hebrews, 9.1-14 discusses the purpose of the veil in the temple rites of the First Covenant: how the veil or curtain functioned to denote the *sancta sanctorum* in the temple, an area forbidden to all except the High Priest who entered it just once a year, on the Day of Atonement, the most solemn day in the Jewish religious calendar. The synoptic gospels: Matthew, 27.51, Mark. 15.38 and Luke 23.45 narrate the event of the rending of the veil of the Sanctuary when Christ died, on what is referred to now as Good Friday, the most solemn day in the Christian calendar. Until the death of Christ, the veils on Moses and in the Temple were barriers. With the death of Christ, they were removed and access to the *sancta sanctorum*: Christ, was available to all.

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[10] Paul may not be speaking metaphorically here. With reference to Jewish settlements in China following the Diaspora from Persia (B.C.E. 231) A. Rubens noted that, 'in the synagogue during the reading of the Law the minister covered his face with a transparent veil of gauze in memory of Moses, who came down from the mountain with his face covered-a custom not known elsewhere but mentioned by St. Paul as being well established in his time.' A. Rubens, *A History of Jewish Costume*, London, 1981, p.29.

The roundel known as the Mystic Mill of Saint Paul represents 'the Apostle Paul turning a mill, and the Prophets carrying sacks to the mill.'[11] The verse for this subject is:

> By working the mill, thou, Paul, takest the flour out of the bran.
> Thou makest known the innermost meaning of the Law of Moses.
> From so many grains is made the true bread without bran, our and the angels' perpetual food.

Paul is the refiner, the means of extracting the essence of the Law, the perpetual food, Christ's sacrificial death, the Eucharist **(15)**. Suger's confidence that Paul knew 'the innermost meaning of the Law of Moses' stems partly from the fact that Paul had been chosen to make its fulfilment known to the gentiles and also because he was a Pharisee, strict in the interpretation of the Mosaic Law.[12] In his address to the Jews of Jerusalem, Paul proudly proclaimed, 'I was taught the exact observance of the Law of our ancestors' and he explained the circumstances of his conversion and his mission to preach first to the Jews and then to the gentiles (Acts 22.1-21). Paul's speech emphasised his orthodoxy and showed how (as Ananias, had declared in Acts, 22.14) he had been chosen by the 'God of our ancestors to know his will and to see the Upright One.' Therefore Paul was as a binding element between his ancestors and Christ. This is one of the cruces of Suger's debt to Paul: Paul was a bridge between First and Second Testaments although another explanation is important when considering the source(s) of Suger's programme.

Dionysius

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[11] C. Rudolph argues for the *Mystic Mill* as originally the lowest panel. C. Rudolph, *Artistic Change at St-Denis: Abbot Suger*'s *Program and the Early Twelfth-Century Controversy over Art*, Princeton, New Jersey, 1990, fig. 8.

[12] But, as noted by K. Armstrong, K. Armstrong, 'in the New Testament, the Pharisees are depicted as whited sepulchres and blatant hypocrites. This is due to the distortions of first-century polemic. The Pharisees were passionately spiritual Jews.' K. Armstrong, *A History of God*: *From Abraham to the Present*: *the 4000 Year-Quest for God*, p. 89:

The Acts of the Apostles (17.22-34) relates how Paul preached to the Athenians. Among his converts was Dionysius the Areopagite who became conflated with the patron saint of Suger's abbey church and also with *pseudo*-Dionysius the Areopagite.[13] The metaphysical writings attributed to Dionysius comprise *The Divine Names*, *Mystical Theology*, *The Celestial Hierarchy* and *The Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*. Jane Hayward is among the supporters of a Dionysian influence on the iconographic agenda at St-Denis. Hayward maintains, 'given the prevailing belief that there was a direct historical connection between Saint Denis and the Apostle Paul, it is not surprising that both the Epistles of Paul and the Neoplatonic philosophy of Pseudo-Dionysius inspired the iconographic program devised for the choir windows.'[14]

Kidson forcefully refutes Hayward: 'there is not the slightest shred of evidence to suggest that Suger ever made the sort of systematic study of the Pseudo-Dionysius that would put him into such distinguished company [as John Scot Erigena], or even that he had any sympathy with or real understanding of the neo-Platonic strand in Christian theology.'[15] To these conflicting views of the likelihood of a Dionysian influence can be added that of Rudolph who argued for Hugh of St. Victor as Suger's guide to the writings of Dionysius the *Pseudo* Areopagite because, according to Rudolph, 'Suger needed help.'[16]

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[13] There was more to 'Denis' than appears. There was Dionysius the so-called Areopagite mentioned in Acts is the one 'who attached himself to him,' [Paul], Acts, 17.34. Another Denis, a third-century missionary, was martyred with his co-missionaries, Rusticus and Eleutherius; finally, pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite was a Neoplatonic philosopher who purported to have lived with the apostles. See J. Hayward, 'Stained glass at St-Denis,' in S. McK. Crosby, *The Royal Abbey of Saint-Denis in the Time of Abbot Suger* (*1121-1151*), New York, 1981, p. 63.

[14] Hayward, 'Stained glass at St-Denis,' Crosby, *The Royal Abbey of Saint-Denis* p. 63.

[15] P. Kidson, 'Panofsky, Suger and St-Denis,' *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 50 (1987), p.6.

[16] Rudolph, *Artistic Change at St-Denis*, p. 33.

I would suggest that had Suger been all that familiar with the transition from material to immaterial that pervades the writings of *Pseudo* Dionysius he declined some appropriate material such as the Transfiguration of the Lord and representations of the Ladder of Perfection.[17] Neither is evident at St.-Denis and nor is the eclipse that is associated with the writings of *Pseudo* Dionysius.[18] But this means only that Suger was more selective than he is given credit for, and that he avoided the obvious. The Synoptic Gospels mention the darkness at the time of Christ's death but only Luke records that the sun was obscured (Luke, 23.45). In the Dionysian version as translated by John Scot Erigena at the request of Charles the Bald in 858, 'the eclipse at the time of the Crucifixion was indeed miraculous, since the moon came up to the sun from the east and obscured it from the sixth to the ninth hour while Christ hung upon the cross. Then, instead of passing on to the west, it reversed and returned to the east.'[19](This 'eclipse' is more appropriately explored in Chapter 3 in the discussion of possible Carolingian antecedents of *Synagoga* in Crucifixion imagery).

On Suger's Dionysian inspiration (or lack of) there is some provocative criticism from Grant: 'the throwaway superficiality with which he [Suger] gives a Dionysian gloss to the window of the mystic mill raises the subversive suspicion that he had been told it urged one from the material to the immaterial, but was not himself quite sure how.'[20] But given Suger's eclecticism, apparent in his employment of painters from many regions, his directives on renovation, evident not least in the altars, it is clear that Suger was neither superficial nor throwaway in his enterprises.

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[17] Suger was aware of the splendour of Hagia Sophia: 'we had heard wonderful and almost incredible reports about the superiority of Hagia Sophia's and other church's ornaments for the celebration of mass,' (*De Administrione*, XXXIII.15). It is possible that Suger knew also about the Ladder of Perfection at St. Catherine's monastery at Mount Sinai, also from pilgrims.

[18] Unless depicted on the mosaic which ('contrary to modern custom, we ordered to be executed there and to be affixed to the tympanum of the portal' (*De Administrione* XXVII.10).

[19] A.M. Friend, 'Carolingian Art in the Abbey of St. Denis,' Art Studies, 1 (1923), pp. 67-75.

[20] L. Grant, *Abbot Suger of St-Denis*: *Church and State in Early Twelfth-Century France*, London and New York, 1998, p. 265.

To continue the sequence of scenes in the Allegories of St. Paul window, the portrayal of the Lion and the Lamb unsealing the Book is accompanied by the verse:

> *Qui Deus est magnus, librum Leo solvit et Agnus. Agnus sive*
> *Leo fit caro juncta Deo.*[21]

The scene of the Lion and the Lamb is densely detailed and comprises the symbols of the four evangelists in the quadrants, each facing the centre where the Lamb and the Lion unseal the Book **(16)**. 'Lion' and 'Lamb' are Christological appellations, mentioned together in the Book of Revelation.[22] This apocalyptic reference is a divergence from the dominant influence of Paul and it is difficult to know how to interpret its significance within a Pauline context. The unsealing of the book indicates revelation as do the *Unveiling* scenes and might have (as originally conceived) been intended to prepare the viewer for the discovery of the Quadriga of Aminadab as the Ark of the Covenant, a scene that manifests a very complex iconography. However, Grant argues 'the complexity and obscurity of Suger's theological programmes has been much overrated. It is elaborate, and there is a great deal of it, but that does not in itself make it particularly complex.'[23] Grant's contention that 'any twelfth-century choir monk ought to have been up to it [the iconography of the west portals] should not go unchallenged. Recalling Bernard's remark to Henry Murdac concerning the latter's understanding (or lack of) of the Prophets is a warning that the intellectual prowess of twelfth-century monks should

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[21] Translation: He who is the great God, the Lion and the Lamb unseal the Book. The Lamb or Lion becomes the flesh joined to God. See also Isaiah's messianic prophecy; Is. 11.6 the wolf will live with the lamb.

[22] Translation: Look, the Lion of the tribe of Judah, the root of David has triumphed, and so he will open the scroll and its seven seals (Revelation, 5.5). The lamb came forward to take the scroll from the right hand of the One sitting on the throne (Revelation, 5.6).

[23] Grant, *Abbot Suger*, p. 266.

not to be taken for granted. When reading any aspect of St-Denis, complexity and coherency ought not to be taken as synonymous.

The relationship of parts to whole is apparent in the scene of the Quadriga of Aminadab and the Ark of the Covenant **(17)**. All elements of the composition are linked: the haloed symbols of the evangelists with their gospels are connected to the Ark in which the Cross is rooted. The visible side of the Ark is decorated with a filigree pattern and is repeated on the Cross strengthening their relationship. At each corner of the Ark are spoked wheels, and the inscription *Quadrige Aminadab* identifies the conveyance. The *Quadriga Domini* was a well-established metaphor for the four evangelists. Jerome used it in a letter he wrote to Paulinus of Rome in 394.[24] Isidore of Seville and other commentators helped to establish its potency as visual shorthand for the swiftness of the spread of the Gospel. Jacoff mentioned the ninth-century commentary of Haimo of Auxerre on the *Song of Songs*, 6.12:

> This is the meaning: she [the bride] says, I am disturbed, 'because of the sudden preaching of the Gospel which, like the swiftest quadriga, has flown suddenly through the whole world. And she rightly terms this preaching not a chariot but a quadriga, because the preaching of the Gospel rests upon the authority of the four Evangelists and the four Gospels are like the four of the quadriga of the New Testament, which Christ himself, as charioteer, controls, himself guiding and drawing up the chariot of the Gospels.[25]

Also on the Quadriga roundel another inscription, '*Foederis ex arca Christi cruce sistitur ara*; *Foedere majori vult ibi vita mori*' (on the Ark of the Covenant is established the altar with the Cross of Christ) explains the relationship between these two: the Ark is the means by which the Cross is supported. The scene is a succinct

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[24] 'Matthew, Mark, Luke and John are the Lord's team of four' M. Jacoff, *The Horses of San Marco and the Quadriga of the Lord*, Princeton, New Jersey, 1993, p.14.

[25] Jacoff, *The Horses of San* Marco, p.14. See also, J. Cohen, '*Synagoga conversa*: Honorius Augustodunensis, the Song of Songs, and Christianity's ''Eschatological Jew,''' Speculum, 79 (2004), pp. 309-340 which article is discussed in Chapter 4.

expression of the interdependence of First and Second Testaments and a very concise conflation of a number of issues found in the Epistle to the Hebrews 9 and 10 whose theme is of Christ as the mediator of a greater Covenant and how that of Moses contained ‘no more than a reflection of the good things which were still to come’ (10.1). The correspondence between the Cross and the Ark of the Covenant summarises their relationship: the Cross grows from within the Ark and is a product of it.

Several biblical references are incorporated in the *Quadriga* roundel. Exodus, 25.10-22 gives Yahweh’s instructions for the building of the Ark, the purpose of which is explicit: ‘inside the ark you will put the Testimony which I am about to give you’ (Exodus, 25.22). Suger’s inscription, *Quadrige Aminadab* links the scene to another, by now familiar biblical text: the *Song of Songs*. Song, 6.11-12: ‘I went down to the nut orchard to see the fresh shoots in the valley, to see if the vines were budding and the pomegranate trees in flower. Before I knew...my desire had hurled me onto the chariots of Aminadab.’

Part of Bede’s gloss on Song, 6.11, is, ‘this Aminadab was the great-great-grandchild of Judah the patriarch, who both by his person and his name signifies ‘saviour.’[26] Thus, Aminadab was a type of Christ and the new cart, the quadriga, a type of that which will bear the Second Covenant: Christ. Song 6.12, ‘*Revetere*, *Revetere Sulamitis*: *revetere*, *revetere*, *ut intueamur te*,’ ‘Come back, come back, girl from Shulem, come back where we can look at you!’ presents another identity puzzle. One of the problems experienced when reading the *Song of Songs* is its

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[26] M. Dove (trans., intro.), *The Glossa Ordinaria on the Song of Songs*, Kalamazoo, 2004, p.137.

inclusion of *hapax legomenon*: a word which is used once only. Such is the case with the word *Sulamitis*: it is not found anywhere in the Bible but in Song, 6.12.[27]

The First Book of Kings, 1.3 describes one of the perils of King David's old age, how he could not keep warm. The King's servants thought a young girl (which can mean a virgin) might solve the problem. Abishag of Shunem was brought to court to look after King David but this stopped short of sexual favours. In his sermon on Song, 6.12, John of Ford writes of Abishag the Shulamite and provides an eschatological exposition: 'the chilly old age of King David, which could not be warmed by clothing, is an unmistakable portent of the state of the Christian faith at the end of time. Christ, the true David, speaks openly of the coldness of those times, when he declares: 'because wickedness is multiplied, most men's love will grow cold.' Later, John explains, that while things are hard for the Church at the End she will have 'a beautiful maiden, the people of Israel whose first husband, God, will take thought to himself, remembering his youth, as Jeremiah says: 'I remembered you, pitying your youth' (Jeremiah, 2.2).[28] As the Shunamite was to David, so too the people of Israel will be brought to Christ. Before exploring Suger's visualisation of this mystery, it is necessary to return to Aminadab's kin in order to understand how, although not clearly visible in reproductions of Suger's Ark, Aaron's rod was originally included.

From one of many lists of kindred in the First Testament it is known that Aaron, the elder brother of Moses, married Elizabeth, the daughter of Aminadab (Exodus, 6.23).[29] Moreover, Numbers 17, 1-11 tells of the leadership conflict among

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[27] See G. A. Buttrick, (ed.), *The Interpreter's Bible*, 1951-7, New York, 5, p. 92.

[28] John of Ford, *Sermons on the Final Verses of the Song of Songs*, (trans. W. M. Beckett), Kalamazoo, 1983, 5 Sermon 62, pp. 1-2.

[29] Vulgate, *Accepit autem Aaron uxorem Elisabeth filiam Aminadab*.

the Israelites and how Aaron was chosen as High Priest. As P. L. Gerson notes, but for the drawings of the nineteenth-century Jesuit antiquarians, Charles Cahier and Arthur Martin there would be ignorance of the fact that Suger directed the inclusion of Aaron's rod and the Tablets of the Law in the Ark of the Covenant for they were omitted in the nineteenth-century restoration programme.[30] Whereas there is no account of the inclusion of Aaron's Rod as placed in the Ark in Numbers, 17, it is referred to in the letter to the Hebrews, 'The first covenant had its laws governing worship and its sanctuary, a sanctuary on this earth…in this were kept the gold jar containing the manna, Aaron's branch that grew the buds, and the tables of the covenant' (Hebrews, 9.1-4). Although Suger did not mention Aaron's rod in his verse, he may, in keeping with his Pauline commitment, have included it in the scene for, along with many others, he mistakenly ascribed the letter to the Hebrews to Paul. This may be so but the inclusion of Aaron's rod is a reminder that just as a seemingly dead branch bore fruit, so too, the Cross of Christ. That the scrollwork on the ark proceeds to the cross is another subtle but very telling indication of the relationship between them.

Suger dismantled the western end of the original, Carolingian church and extended the nave whose walls were transformed by the 'best painters from different regions.' He also directed 'the trebling of the entrance doors and the erection of high and noble towers' at the west front for 'the beauty of the church' and crenellated it for 'practical purposes,' (most likely for the needs of security in an age when relics were the most revered and valuable assets of a church. Security was important to Suger: various villas and abbey properties count among his success in defence. As Grant puts

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[30] P. L. Gerson, 'Suger as Iconographer: the Central Portal of the West Façade of St-Denis,' in P. L. Gerson (ed.), Abbot *Suger and St-Denis*: *A Symposium*, (The Metropolitan Museum of Art), New York, 1987, p.195, n. 4, hereafter cited as Gerson, *Symposium*.

it, 'he [Suger] had become, perforce, an expert in fortification').[31] 'Contrary to the modern custom,' the tympanum of the left portal of west front accommodated a mosaic whose subject is not known. The gilt-bronze doors and the sculptured stone figures of First Testament prophets and kings were a feature of the portals. In addition to some fragments of heads, drawings by Antoine Benoist published by Bernard de Montfaucon in 1729 are an indication of how these figures would have appeared.[32]

In another chapel (possibly S II and S III) a Passion narrative was paired with scenes from the Prophet Ezekiel, including the marking of a *Tau* on the foreheads of those to be saved which, as has been noted, prefigured the soteriological grace of the Crucifixion. Scenes of the First Crusade and of Charlemagne's pilgrimage to the Holy Land were depicted in the windows of a fourth chapel.[33] In the remaining three chapels, events from the life of St. Benedict and of St. Vincent were included. Griffins were also well represented in Suger's windows and therefore a brief account of their significance is fitting. [34]

Suger's griffin window was possibly influenced by the enduring belief in the ferocity of their nature and as a deterrent to thieves. So although it is evident that the glazing programme exhibited an extensive assemblage of historical, mythical and theological associations, the relationship between them is not obvious and a single clear-cut plan is hard to locate.

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[31] Grant, *Abbot Suger*, p. 239.

[32] See P. Z. Blum, 'The Lateral Portals of the West Facade of the Abbey Church of Saint-Denis: Archaeological and Iconographical Considerations,' Gerson, *Symposium*, pp. 199-227.

[33] The 'pilgrimage' was invented to prove that the relics of the Passion presented by Charles the Bald to the Abbey in the ninth century were brought by Charlemagne from Constantine. See J. Howard, 'Stained Glass at Saint-Denis' in S. McK.Crosby and others, *The Royal Abbey of Saint-Denis in the Time of Abbot Suger* (*1121-1151*), New York, 1981, pp. 61-63.

[34] P. Armour has contributed an account of griffins in his 'history' of the creature. See J.Cherry (ed.), *Mythical Beasts*, London, 1995, pp. 72-103.

Suger referred to a *Tree of Jesse* that began the series of windows at the head of the church and, following Grodecki's reconstruction it is generally accepted that the *Tree* was paired with scenes of the infancy of Christ in the central chapel dedicated to the Virgin which included an Annunciation with the figure of the suppliant Abbot Suger between the Virgin the angel **(18)**. (5, N1 and S1 in Grodecki's plan).[35] The Incarnation and the kingship of Christ, verified in the *Tree* as from the royal house of David, was a fitting subject in this Abbey, the final resting-place of some French monarchs.[36] The life of Moses and the Allegories of St. Paul window were probably installed to the left of this chapel (St. Peregrinus 4, N II and N III in Grodecki's plan). Moses the Lawgiver was paralleled with Christ, the instrument of the Second Covenant. The Crossing of the Red Sea anticipated baptism and the scenes of the Burning Bush and the Brazen Serpent were types of the virginity of Mary and the Crucifixion respectively.

Accustomed as he was to biblical accounts of the subject, the reality of the repudiated wife was also familiar to Suger, as also was the importance of rightful marriage and its benefits in perpetuity.[37] The priority in the glazing programme in the chevet was a *Tree of Jesse*, a visual reminder of Christ's lineage in the royal house of David and a fitting reminder of French dynastic continuity because, as mentioned, it was the final repose of French monarchs. The *Tree* was 'living' proof of Christ as the Messiah prophesied by Isaiah: 11.1, 'A shoot will spring from the stock of Jesse; a new shoot will grow from his roots.' The *Tree* was also a lucid means of connecting

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[35] As is the case with many aspects of the imagery there is no certainty about the originality of the Suger figure.

[36] Clovis, 465-511 was the first of many kings buried at St-Denis. Contrary to this custom Phillip I of France chose not to be buried among his ancestors but was buried at Fleury ostensibly because he was ashamed of his extra-marital affair with Bertrade of Montfort. See G.Duby, *The Knight the Lady and the Priest*, *the Making of Modern Marriage in Medieval France*, Harmondsworth, 1983, p.14.

[37] Duby, *Knight*, *Lady*, *Priest*, Chapter 10: *The Royal Family*, pp. 189-209.

the First and Second covenants and of honouring Mary as Mother of God. Nourished by roots that were inextricably linked, the *Tree* also symbolised the perennial regeneration for the imagery in its branches.

Suger was proud of his roots. Less humble were those of Louis VI from whom Suger obtained many privileges. Louis was the eldest son of King Philip I (1060-1108) whose fleshly inclinations were a source of concern to many but especially to Ivo, bishop of Chartres and canon lawyer.[38] In 1094, when Suger and Louis were about thirteen, Philip was excommunicated by the Archbishop of Lyon for his 'irregular union' with Bertrade of Montfort, countess of Anjou. Philip had two sons by her: Philip and Florus. As Suger made clear neither Philip nor Florus would be considered for the succession even if the only heir met with some misfortune and died first.[39]

The repudiated wife was Berthe of Holland, the mother of Louis. Berthe was confined to Louis's château in Montreuil-sur-Mer. Philip had still to come to terms with adultery and bigamy. However, it seems that the greater sin was that Philip and Bertrade were cousins so incest too was a factor in this 'marriage.' It is unlikely that Louis was ignorant of the outrage that ensued or that he did not seek consolation from his young friend, Suger even if, as Grant suggests, they were not in school together.[40]

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[38] Ivo refused to recognise the wedding of Philip and Bertrade of Montfort because there was no evidence that Philip was legitimately divorced from Berthe. Moreover, Ivo influenced Urban II's second excommunication of Philip announced at the Council of Clermont in 1095. The dispute exemplifies the role of the Church in matrimonial affairs. Until *c.* 1000 there was no notion of a 'Christian' wedding. Marriage was a civil affair which varied from place to place and with no ecclesiastical involvement. But by *c.* 1100 the Church regulated marriage which must first have the consent of both parties. The bride would be 'given away' and a dowry would be offered. Rings were exchanged and blessed and sometimes the wedding chamber would be blessed by the priest. Duby, *Knight, Lady*, *Priest*, Chapter 9: *Yves of Chartres*, pp. 161-185.

[39] Suger, *Deeds*, p. 27.

[40] Grant, *Abbot Suger*, pp. 78-9.

Suger's valedictory for Philip was far from positive:

> After his irregular union with the countess of Anjou he did nothing worthy of the royal majesty, for he was carried away with lust for the married woman he had carried off and gave himself over to gratifying his desires.[41]

As for Louis, Suger revealed something of the latter's compliant nature: 'despite the repudiation of his mother and the irregular union with the Angevin woman, he had taken care never to displease his father in any way while he lived.'[42]

Later, the failing marriage of Louis and Eleanor of Aquitaine helps to demonstrate Suger's skill in juggling his own needs with those of the establishment. Reverence for the sacramental solemnity of marriage and his concern for the true bride prevented him to do other than preserve the union which had also brought with it the riches of Aquitaine. Married in 1137, Louis and Eleanor were fourth cousins and at risk of flouting the laws governing consanguinity. This did not appear to be a problem until Bernard of Clairvaux questioned the validity of the marriage in 1143.[43] For his part, Suger repeatedly urged Louis to persevere in his efforts to withstand Eleanor's indiscretions but when the abbot died in 1151, Bernard of Clairvaux again voiced doubts about the safety of the marriage and in 1152 it was annulled by which time Suger was past caring.[44]

Suger's anticipation of this event and the crowning of the rightful Bride was cause for celebration. The image of Christ unveiling *Synagoga* and crowning *Ecclesia* echoed Paul's notion of seeing through a glass, but not darkly: Suger's glass was

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[41] *Suger*, *Deeds*, p.61.

[42] *Suger*, *Deeds*, p. 62.

[43] Duby notes, 'When spread out over seven generations and linked to the notion of incest, the fields of consanguinity was literally beyond measure, with so many people excluded from availability that it was almost impossible to observe prohibition' Duby, *Knight*, *Lady*, *Priest*, p. 35.

[44] A. Weir, *Eleanor of Aquitaine*: *By the wrath of God*, *Queen of England*, London, 2000.

filled with what he envisaged to be hope for the future of both Jew and Christian sharing the light of Christ.

Synagoga in Worcester chapterhouse

The main aim of this section is to consider why the unknown designer of the versified cycle of imagery that once adorned the ribbed vault of Worcester Cathedral chapterhouse devised a typological scheme of revelation and renewal that included the unveiling and reconciliation of *Synagoga* **(Fig. 19)**.[1] The scheme was in place in the aftermath of the first crusade: around 1100 **(Fig. 20)**. To what extent, if at all, the massacre of Jews by crusaders in the Rhineland in 1097 influenced the dominant theme of the reconciliation is not known but all the evidence suggests that any hint of conflict between Jews and Christians has been avoided. The designer of the imagery and the poet who composed their verses anticipated the reconciliation of Jew and Christian. The most salient elements of the scheme are the Marriage and Triumph of the Virgin and the Unveiling of *Synagoga* with which the 'tour' of the cycle began, respectively in bays 10 and 9 **(Figs. 21-22)**. Following discussion of these scenes, the Crucifixion in bay 5 will be the focus. Before these scenes are approached a few general points may be noted and the authentication of the scheme explained briefly.

Function of the chapterhouse

Although 'there is no direct textual evidence for the Chapter Customs at Worcester' a few general points may be noted.[2] A chapterhouse accommodated the monastic community for the daily readings from the *Rule of St. Benedict*, a compilation of 73 chapters that regulate all aspects of monastic life, obedience being of primary

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[1] This element of Chapter 2 is substantially informed by T. A. Heslop, 'Worcester Cathedral Chapterhouse and the Harmony of the Testaments,' in P. Binski and W. Noel (eds.), *New Offerings, Ancient Treasures*; *Studies in Medieval Art for George Henderson*, Stroud, 2001, pp. 280-311, and T.A.Heslop, 'The English origins of the Coronation of the Virgin,' *The Burlington Magazine*, 147 December, 2005, pp. 790-97. Heslop's reconstruction of the cycle in the first citation is used here.

[2] N. Stratford, 'Notes on the Norman Chapterhouse at Worcester Cathedral,' in G. Popper (ed.), *Medieval Art and Architecture at Worcester Cathedral*, *The British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions*, (1975), Leeds, 1978, pp. 51-70.

concern. Chapter five of the *Rule* begins, 'the first degree of humility is obedience without delay.'[3] Chapter 68 states that even when commanded to do impossible things, obedience is still called for. 'If it happens that something hard or impossible be laid upon any brother, let him receive the command of his superior with all docility and obedience.'

Other aspects of the *Rule* such as admissions, dietary controls, the divine office, manual work, study and rest were also included in chapter meetings which usually following morning mass. The presiding superior might reflect on an aspect of the reading with a commentary or an elucidation for the benefit of the assembly. The day-to-day business of the monastery and decisions for the welfare of the community would also be included. Commemoration of the dead was a daily routine. Saints and martyrs who had, in obedience to their Christian principles, died for the love of Christ were recalled from the *Martyrologium* of Usuard (d. *c*.875). In some cases, the chapter house became the place of final repose of monks and patrons. Suger's unvarnished description of what happened in the chapter: 'conferring with our brethren about matters both common and private' summarises its purpose.[4] While there is scant evidence for chapterhouses prior to the eleventh century, they were, as Braunfels has indicated, burial places of their abbots.'[5] While much of this was of a very mundane nature (such as balancing income over expenditure), the constant duty of the abbot and his brethren was to reconcile one to each other, and to God. The deviser of the Worcester programme extended the theme of reconciliation to that of Christians and Jews.

Evidence for the reconstruction of the cycle

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[3] All references are from *The Rule of Saint Benedict in Latin and English*, Abbot J. McCann, O.S.B. (ed. and trans.), London, 1963.

[4] *Sugeri*, *Administratione*, p. 41.

[5] W. Braunfels, *Monasteries of Western Europe*: *the Architecture of the Orders*, London, 1993 p. 58.

Reliable sources authorise the elements of the cycle. There is the copy of the verses and *tituli* of the images on an otherwise blank page at the back of a Jerome commentary on the Psalms, the prudent foresight of another unknown individual.[6] The Jerome commentary represents the most tangible textual evidence for the reconstruction of the cycle, and it was also the means of ascertaining the original work should anything untoward happen when repairs were undertaken in the early thirteenth century.[7] M. R. James published details of the paintings in 1900.[8] J.M. Wilson and T.A. Heslop provided English translations.[9]

Further evidence of what the cycle comprised comes from two other widely acknowledged sources. The first of these is three enamelled ciboria generally agreed to date from *c.*1150-70.[10] An illustrated Apocalypse of *c.*1260 in Eton College (MS. 177) is the second. The ciboria are inscribed with texts which are in part identical to the verses in the back of the Jerome commentary and from this it is surmised that the ciboria derive from Worcester. The comparison with the Eton manuscript reveals similarities. J. M. Wilson explained; 'Dr. James, who inspected our MSS., had previously, in 1895, made a catalogue of the MSS. in the Library of Eton College, and he at once remembered that in a MS. of that library, No. 177, were ten pages of illustrations, containing medallion pictures of exactly the same subjects, and in most cases having exactly the verses describing them. There can, therefore, be no doubt that

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[6] Worcester Cathedral Library, MS.F.81, fol.234 *r*. and *v*.

[7] Heslop, 'Worcester Cathedral Chapterhouse,' p. 280.

[8] M.R. James, 'On Two Series of Paintings formerly at Worcester Priory,' *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society*, 10 (1900-1901), pp. 8-117.

[9] J. M. Wilson, 'On some twelfth-century paintings on the vaulted roof of the Chapter house of Worcester Cathedral,' Associated Architectural Societies' Reports and Papers, 32 (1913-14), Part 1 pp. 132-148.

[10] Two of which are in Victoria and Albert Museum. The third ciborium is in New York (Pierpont Morgan Library). See N. Stratford, 'Three English Romanesque enamelled ciboria,' *Burlington Magazine* 126 (1984), pp. 204-16.

in the Eton illustrated MS. we have paintings in the closest connection with those that adorned our chapterhouse.'[11]

The cycle comprised forty scenes; a number of great significance in the Abrahamic faiths, replete with sacred associations.[12] The scenes were arranged in roundels, four to each of the 10 sections of vault. For each New Testament event there were three Old Testament types and prompted M.R. James to remark 'the proportion of three types to one antitype is a little unusual, chiefly because it is difficult under such circumstances to give the antitype a central and prominent place.'[13] The arrangement reflected the theme of the New as enclosed within the Old. The smaller roundels might be thought of as the cogs that turned the larger wheel of revelation. Discussion of the most relevant elements of the imagery will begin with the dominant roundel (the antitype) and proceed to the remaining 3. In this way, the relationship between them is better understood.

The scenes were accompanied by verses which varied in length (two, three or four lines) and provided gloss on the images. The verses were inscribed on blocks of alternating green and white stone around the walls. The proem begins with an imperative and calls for obedience:

> Man, look at the pictures and discern the forms of things so that
> you may clearly see what may be their secret.

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[11] Associated Architectural Societies' *Reports and Papers*, 32 (1913), pp. 132-148.

[12] The forty days and forty nights spent by Moses on the mountain before he received the tablets of the Law anticipate Christ's forty days of preparation before he began his ministry. Forty is also the number of days Noah survived the flood before God made a covenant with him, which is the type of baptism and the foundation of the Church. Forty is also the number of days on which Jesus appeared to the disciples following his death and resurrection. It is thus the liminal or transitional number relating earthly existence to heavenly longing. Forty designates a long period of time and is roughly the equivalent of a generation. For a man it was regarded as a coming of age to marry (Isaac and Esau married at forty) and the Qur'ān (46.14) observes it as the age when a man is at full strength. Muhammad was forty when he began to preach monotheism. See *The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible*, New York, 1962.

[13] M.R. James, 'On Two Series of Paintings,' p.105.

> This distinguished house, adorned with heavenly images, is replete with the lessons and testimonies of faith: here the historical meanings, and here the allegorical: here the Law shrouding, and here Grace revealing what was concealed.
>
> The Law showed in shadows what prophecy foretold in words concerning Christ or Mary. Here the painter's art has distinguished in a mass of colours and openly expressed what the letter wore within.
>
> Here the Sun of Justice is depicted, having entered the world concealed in Mary's substance and then returned on high. Here too is the Star of the Sea, triumphant over death, renewed in life, as proclaimed by famous patriarchs
>
> Mary, the devout Virgin with her Child, stands painted suckling the Infant Thunderer of Heaven and Earth; and as the mother offered her breast to his hunger, for her sake he will turn his face to the man who smites him.

These verses condense the concepts inherent in typology with incomparable economy; a sense of mystery and anticipation is sustained: 'the Law *shrouding*' and what 'the Law showed in *shadows*' 'Grace *revealing* what was *concealed*.[14] However, the words are subordinate to 'the painter's art (that) has distinguished in a mass of colours what the letter wore within.' Accordingly it becomes the task of the painter to convey the secret of the cycle, a reminder (if such were needed) of the power of imagery.[15]

The 'tour' of the cycle began with the Marriage and Coronation of the Virgin, the subject of the dominant roundel in bay ten (immediately inside the door from the cloister to the chapterhouse). But all the same it is clear that bays ten and nine have a

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[14] Emphasis added.

[15] 'Less vividly is the mind stirred by what finds entrance through the ears than by what is brought before the trusty eyes, and what the spectator can see for himself' (line 179 p. 465), Horace, *Satires*, *Epistles*, *Ars Poetica*, H.R Fairclough (trans.), Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1961 (Loeb Classical Library). The cycle would certainly have gained the approval of the author of *Pictor in Carmine*, a diatribe on the subject of what was acceptable and not acceptable as subjects for representation. *Pictor in Carmine* was compiled *c*.1200 probably by the Cistercian, Adam of Dore in Herefordshire. The geographical link with Worcester provokes curiosity about the likelihood of his having seen the cycle especially since around the same time as the *Pictor in Carmine* was written the Chapterhouse of Abbey Dore was under construction to a circular plan whose significance is discussed below. See especially, M. R. James, *Pictor in Carmine*, *Archaeologia*, 94 (1951), pp. 141-66.

single purpose: the reconciliation of the Brides of the Lord. In order that this could take place, *Synagoga* had to acknowledge Mary–*Ecclesia* as the 'rightful bride' and then witness her coronation and wedding, which she does.

The heading for verse of the Marriage and Coronation in bay ten is; *On Christ and his Church*. There follows,

> Betrothed with the dowry of Faith, and made holy by her virtues, the bride is crowned and united with God, the Bridegroom.

God and his Queen are portrayed in their 'wedding carriage,' a version of the Quadriga of Aminadab (*Song of Songs*, 6.11) here equipped with wheels of seven spokes. The number of spokes may signify the gifts of the Holy Spirit whose source is Isaiah, Chapter 11 where Isaiah envisages the qualities of the Messiah and would become the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit: Wisdom, Understanding, Counsel, Fortitude, Knowledge, Piety, Fear of the Lord. The spokes are surrounded by the symbols of the evangelists which originate in one of the visions of Ezekiel, 'the first living creature was like a lion, the second was like a bull, the third living creature had a human face, and the fourth living creature was like a flying eagle' Ezekiel, 1.5-14. And although not specifically mentioned in the cycle (but known to the monks) Ezekiel's account of how Yahweh will reconcile the House of Israel to himself adds a further gloss on the other scenes in this section: 'I shall give you a new heart, and put a new spirit in you. I shall remove the heart of stone from your bodies and give you a heart of flesh instead' (Ezekiel, 36.26-27). The promise of renewal is confirmed.

The verse to the roundel below the Marriage (10a) has the heading; *On the Jew and the Gentile* and it continues the theme of union and reconciliation:

> Here Judaea binds herself to Christ, as likewise does Idumea. Thus
> can one flock be made for the Lord out of two.

‘Judea’ and ‘Idumea’ join two sticks to create a cross in the centre of which is a clipeate portrait of Christ and foreshadows the Crucifixion. However, what is really significant about scene and verse is perhaps not immediately apparent, but then the whole cycle is about contemplation that leads to revelation, to which the monks would aspire. But it seems that the element of the sibling rivalry between Esau and Jacob noted in Chapter 1 has reappeared. ‘Judaea’ and ‘Idumea’ represent the descendants of the twins, Esau and Jacob who fought in Rebecca’s womb. The mastery that one of the twins would have over the other (as God told Rebecca, Genesis, 25.23) led to protracted fighting over many lifetimes and cost many lives. For the Worcester designer to choose Judea and Idumea as material for his scheme of reconciliation is optimism indeed, such as could only be inspired by an unshakeable faith in the saving grace of the Crucifixion which the roundel foreshadows and which, as the verse indicates, will unite all mankind. Moreover, the influence of Paul’s Letter to the Ephesians may have contributed: ‘for he is our peace, who hath made both one...and might reconcile both to God in one body by the Cross’ (Ephesians, 2.14, 16).

The verse to roundel, 10b in reconstruction: *On Mercy and Truth* is:

> When Grace comes to the Law and the willing Bride is given to the
> King, Virtue comes enhanced to Virtue, Goodness to Goodness.

Justice and Peace are most often personified in the books of Psalms and Proverbs. Psalm 85 .10-11 tells of how, ‘faithful Love and Loyalty join together, Saving Justice and Peace embrace. Loyalty will spring up from the earth, and Justice will lean down from heaven.’ The poet (also unknown) anticipates the change that will occur when *Synagoga* accepts *Ecclesia* as the Bride of the King.

Grace and Law are both aspects of God's beneficence. The Law is Virtue and will continue to be (Matthew, 5.18: 'Not one jot or tittle...'). But the Law is even more virtuous when it is joined to the Goodness that is Christ although this clumsy interpretation would not be as the monks received the verse. What matters is how the poet's description: 'Virtue comes enhanced' and 'Goodness to Goodness' magnifies the power of the Holy Spirit. 'The willing Bride' is of course a reference to Mary's acquiescence, Luke, 1.38. Doubtless too the versifier was aware of Jerome's *Tractatus de Psalmo* LXXX111: *Misericordia igitur est in populo gentilium, ueritas in populo Iudaeorum*: Mercy therefore is in the Gentiles, Truth in the Jews. A little later Jerome adds: *hoc est*, *Misericordia et ueritas amicitiam fecerunt*, *hoc est*, *gentium populus et Iudaeorum sub uno pastore Christo est*: Mercy and Truth made friends, that is, the gentiles and the Jews are under one pastor, Christ.[16]

The roundel 10c encloses two more female personifications: Justice and Peace and the verse is; 'Peace rejoices with Justice as Mary gives birth: when the boy, whom the childbearing Virgin carried, was delivered.' The scene and verses prepare the viewer to contemplate the *Nativity*, the dominant scene in bay 1 although it is the Marriage and Coronation of the Virgin that is the beginning of the 'tour.' Hence the concept of the pre-existence of Mary precedes the birth of Christ. Mary-Wisdom was 'first fruits of his fashioning, before the oldest of his works...I was with the master craftsman, delighting him day by day' (Proverbs, 8.22-31). The viewer is invited to contemplate Mary's place in Eternity. Mary was in the beginning and, as Mother of Christ, in whom life eternal is secured the imagery of both bays ten and one can be read

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[16] I am grateful to Fr. Ambrose of Mount St. Bernard Abbey, Leicester, for this reference.

as a continuum of salvation history. However, the salvation of *Synagoga* must be included and this is the context for the imagery in bay nine.

The *Unveiling of Synagoga*

> Hitherto concealed in the clouded configuration of the Law; O Synagogue, with the advent of Faith, see the reality. Let Synagogue be made new in the refashioned cloak of the Law, let Grace adorn her with the garment of Faith.

The verses to the *Unveiling* are brimming with ‘promises’ that are realised by Faith. ‘Cloud’ and ‘cloak’ disappear when Faith makes *Synagoga* ‘new.’ The Law has been reformed and clarified. However, the Old Law is not redundant; *Synagoga* will see its inner significance and the faith this requires is freely bestowed by grace. The Law conceals, faith reveals and so *Synagoga* returns to the Lord. *Synagoga* is seated; the hand of God removes the veil from her eyes. To *Synagoga*’s right is Moses who points to the tablets of the Law raised in *Synagoga*’s right hand **(23)**.[17] For the most part and especially in Crucifixion imagery, *Synagoga*’s tablets are shattered or held in an inverted position. This is not so at Worcester: the tablets are whole perhaps to recall ‘not one jot...’ and *Synagoga* raises the tablets with pride because with her veil removed she can see the inner meaning: ‘the Law has found its fulfilment in Christ so that all who have faith will be justified’ (Romans, 10.4). Moreover the Tablets incorporate Aaron’s rod which is just visible where the two are joined.

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[17] Depictions of the tablets of Law frequently take a rectangular form rounded at the top, as is the case here. C. Roth notes, ‘this was the inevitable development from rectangular doors of the Torah-shrine, and is in full conformity with the Biblical account, which provides no authority for the rounded tops’. See his ‘Jewish Antecedents of Christian Art,’ *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 16 1953. R. Mellinkoff has argued, ‘The portrayal of the biblical tablets of the Law with rounded tops is a relative newcomer to the repertoire of both Christian and Jewish art.’ See her ‘The Round-Topped Tablets of the Law: Sacred Emblem and Emblem of Evil,’ *Journal of Jewish Art*, 1 (1974), pp. 28-43. Here, the tablets resemble writing tablets as those of Boethius, *Consolation of Philosophia*, Oxford, Bod. Lib. MS Auct. F6.5 Fol. 7 *v*. **(24)**

Numbers 17.1-11 relates the leadership contest of the Israelites and how God favoured Aaron, the prototype of ancient Jewish priesthood. God directed the leaders of each of the twelve tribes to place a branch in the Tabernacle and whichever sprouted would identify the leader and bring a halt to factions and arguments. Aaron, head of the tribe of Levi saw his branch on which' buds had formed, flowers had blossoms and almonds had already ripened.' To *Synagoga*'s left is Aaron, brother-in-law of Moses. Aaron points to the *Coronation* and *Wedding* in bay ten to call attention to the Triumph of the Virgin and in so doing shows that he approves. Also significant is Aaron's acknowledgment of the small gold vase elevated in *Synagoga*'s left hand, whose associations can also be explored briefly.

During their wanderings in the desert, the Israelites complained of hunger, how in Egypt at least they had been able to 'sit round the flesh pots and eat to our heart's content' (Exodus, 16.3). But Yahweh provided for them: 'that evening quails flew in and covered the camp. When the layer of dew lifted, there on the surface of the desert was something fine and granular, as fine as hoarfrost on the ground. As soon as the Israelites saw this they said to one another, 'What is that?' not knowing what it was. The 'manna' resembled coriander seeds (Exodus, 16.32, Numbers, 11.17) and Moses told them, 'that is the food which Yahweh has given you to eat' and he explained how the food had to be collected according to each man's needs but that none was to be kept over until the next day (Exodus, 16.14-16). So vital was the manna that Yahweh ordered some of it to be placed in his presence to be kept for the Israelites' descendants. In other words, the manna was placed in the Ark of the Covenant, the most sacred vessel of the First Testament, the nature and purpose of which was mentioned in the discussion of St-Denis. 'Accordingly, Aaron stored it in front of the Testimony, to be preserved, as Yahweh had ordered Moses' (Exodus, 16.34). Here too was Aaron's rod (Numbers, 17.25). The author of the letter to the Hebrews amplifies this account:

> The first covenant also had its laws governing worship and its sanctuary, a sanctuary on this earth. There was a tent which comprised two compartments: the first, in which the lamp-stand, the table of and the loaves of permanent offering were kept, was called the Holy Place: then beyond the second veil, a second compartment which was called the Holy of Holies to which belonged the gold altar of incense, and the ark of the covenant, plated all over with gold. In this were kept the gold jar containing the manna, Aaron's branch that grew the buds, and the tables of the covenant (Hebrews, 9.1-5).

In John's Gospel the disciples ask Jesus for a sign, 'the sight of which will make us believe in you.' The disciples reminded Jesus, 'our fathers ate manna in the desert; as scripture says he gave them bread from heaven to eat.' In reply Jesus says, 'I am the bread of life. Your fathers ate manna in the desert and they are dead; I am the living bread which comes down from heaven, so that a person may eat it and not die' (John, 6.30-1, 48-50). The typological link between the manna provided for the Israelites and the living bread of the Eucharist is clear. Jesus is the Bread of life. Unlike the manna in the desert which soon decayed, the Bread of Life is incorruptible and everlasting.

Synagoga's attributes resonate with the Ark of the Covenant. In her right hand, the tablets of the Law sprouting Aaron's rod and in her left, a vial that in the light of the foregoing descriptions could be interpreted as the jar of manna that fed her ancestors in the wilderness. But for an additional way to explain the significance of the vial it is helpful to refer to Revelation, 5.8 which explains how 'the four living creatures prostrated themselves before him (the Lamb) and with them the twenty-four elders,' and that 'each one of them was holding a golden harp and a golden bowl full of incense which are the prayers of the saints.' The position of Aaron's hands evokes the orant prayer gesture and provides a clue to the significance of *Synagoga*'s vial: the vial symbolises the prayers of the saints now answered, for *Synagoga*'s unveiled eyes recognise Christ and his Church: *Synagoga* been welcomed into the community of the saints. She returns to the Lord as in *Song*, 2.17, 'till the day break and the shadows retire. Return, be like my beloved...'

The Marian significance of the Ark of the Covenant 'revealed' through typology might also be noted. The Ark was the repository of the words Yahweh gave to Moses. When it was finished according to Yahweh's instruction, 'the cloud covered the Tabernacle of the testimony, and the glory of the Lord filled it' (Exodus, 33-5). When Mary received the salutation of the Angel she was told, 'the power of the Most High shall overshadow thee (Luke, 1.35). Mary is the repository of the Word, the fulfilment of the Ark of the Covenant.

As with all elements of the imagery the subjects of the remaining roundels in the Unveiling of *Synagoga* are of importance to understanding the various connections they make to the dominant roundel. All relate to aspects of Revelation of which John the Baptist is the main generator. The verse to the scene of John the Baptist reads:

> A voice preceding the word of Life; I cry out, 'come, I open up the way, know the will of the Lord. Darkness acknowledge light.'

That John opens the way is a reference to his purpose in Revelation: John merely announces the coming of Christ and when he baptised Jesus the 'voice from heaven' proclaimed Jesus as 'my Son, the Beloved' (Mark, 1.6, 11). John points vehemently to the Coronation and Marriage of the Bride in bay 10 to remind *Synagoga* of its significance. John holds a disc with a border in the centre of which is the Lamb with a flag. The disc resembles a serving dish and may therefore have relevance to the loaves of permanent offering mentioned in Exodus, 25.29 and 37.16 and thus it prefigure Jesus as the ‘Bread of Life.’ Hence the disc is a type of the paten for communion to the faithful.

Given the Baptist’s proximity to the Marriage in bay ten the Lamb can be linked also to the wedding of the Lamb in the New Jerusalem and eternal reconciliation. The Fourth Gospel describes how John witnessed Christ as the ‘Lamb of God’ (John, 1.29, 36) and this surely refers also to the Lamb of Revelation, 5.7 who alone is worthy to take Book ‘out of the right hand of him who sat on the throne.’ The Baptist was the last of the First Testament prophets and like Simeon, a bridge connecting one to the other so his part in Revelation particularly as it is implied in the cycle: as continuum, is of great importance and is endorsed by John’s prominence in the cycle.

The penultimate roundel of bay nine: On Ezekiel and the Wheels has a brief verse.

> The spirit of Ezekiel is lifted up to heaven, where he learns the mysteries of the divine wheels.

Ezekiel’s arms are outstretched in orant supplication. Here too the emphasis is on Revelation. Ezekiel describes his vision of the wheels (Ezekiel, 1.15-21) which concludes; ‘for the spirit of life was in the wheels.’ Ezekiel watches the wheels as they rise towards heaven, assisted by the dove of the Holy Spirit. Although the *Celestial Hierarchies of Dionysius* was not among the manuscripts held in Worcester the following passage would seem to fit with the idea that the monks experience the divine mysteries just by contemplating the ‘high illuminations’ in the vault (the heaven of the chapterhouse).[18] Dionysius describes how,

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[18] R. Gameson’s inventory of manuscripts includes a manuscript of Dionysius’s *Celestial Hierarchy* in St. John’s College, Oxford. See R. Gameson, *The Manuscripts of Early-Norman England*, (1066-1130), Oxford, 1999, p.145.

> The divine fiery wheels truly evolve, by reason of their ceaseless movement, around the highest Good Itself, and they are granted revelations because to them the holy hidden Mysteries are made clear, and the earthly are lifted up, and the high illuminations are brought down and imparted to the lowest orders.[19]

The final roundel in bay nine is surrounded by the verse:

> The Queen of Sheba, that is to say the Church cloaked in allegory, makes godly offerings to the king.

The Queen of Sheba is a type of Mary-*Ecclesia*, King Solomon, of Christ. The scene in bay nine portrays Sheba presenting a goblet or chalice to Solomon. The scene anticipates *Ecclesia* as custodian of the Eucharist, the commemoration of the Passover meal, the last supper shared by Christ and the disciples before the Crucifixion:

> The Holy Victim, the way of the Kingdom, life eternal is sacrificed on the Cross, which accordingly, was carried by the Hope of the World and the True Life.

The Crucifixion

The Crucifixion in bay five is accompanied by types **(25)**. The raising of the brazen serpent (Numbers, 21.9) the sacrifice of Isaac (Genesis, 22.2), Elisha raising the widow's son (2 Kings, 4.8) would be very familiar to the monks. One very interesting aspect of the scene is the heads of two females, above the arms of the Cross which James described as the figures of the Church, and the Synagogue (blindfold).[20] Given the reconciliatory theme of the entire cycle, it is hard to imagine that the designer would place *Synagoga* and *Ecclesia* in opposition especially at the Crucifixion. Night

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[19] *The Mystical Theology and the Celestial Hierarchies of Dionysius the Areopagite*, translated from the Greek with Commentaries by the Editors of the Shrine of Wisdom, Fintry, Brook, 1965, p. 67.

[20] M.R. James, 'On two series of Paintings,' p. 108.

was sometimes depicted as a blindfold woman.[21] Hence it is possible that the designer included the busts as versions of day and night: a variation of sun and moon which were invariably included in Crucifixion imagery to denote the cosmic magnitude of the event and, in some cases to indicate the darkness that covered the land at the time. Indeed the blindfold may be a way of expressing how the light of the moon was also extinguished. But even if this account is not plausible, the fact of the cherub putting the sword in its sheathe indicates an end to bloodshed, that of Christ and between Jew and Christian.

Both image and verse of the Worcester cycle provide examples of Yahweh's intervention in the affairs of mankind and draw attention to his saving grace: 'God descends like the dew' noted in bay one is a reminder of the manna in the wilderness; the Flood and the Ark of Noah depicted in bay three demonstrate Yahweh's compassion and anticipates baptism. So also, do the rescue of the Israelites from Pharaoh's army also in bay three, the marking of the Tau in bay four show how Yahweh is a loving God. Omission of the Expulsion is an indication that the designer wanted to celebrate divine mercy and to go forward in hope.

Whereas the Coronation and Marriage in bay ten and the Unveiling of *Synagoga* in bay nine constitute both beginning and end of the cycle, they also represent a microcosm of salvation history and can be clarified with reference to Isaiah and to Revelation. Although the marriage of Yahweh and Israel ended in divorce, nevertheless less Yahweh promised, 'no more will you be known as 'Forsaken' Yahweh will take delight in you, and your country will have its wedding (Isaiah, 62.4). Later this promise is made even clearer: 'I am going to create new heavens and a new earth, and the past

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[21] Berlin Staatsbibliothek, cod. theol. lat.fol.192. See E. Panofsky, *Studies in Iconology*: *Humanistic themes in the Art of the Renaissance*, New York, 1962, fig. 76.

will not be remembered and will come no more to mind...I am creating Jerusalem to be 'Joy' and my people to be gladness. I shall be joyful in Jerusalem and I shall rejoice in my people...the wolf and the lamb will feed together, the lion will eat hay like the ox...no hurt, no harm will be done on all my holy mountain (Isaiah, 64.17-25).

At this point some further explanations of the architectural aspects of the chapterhouse are usefully noted. The proem's description of the Chapterhouse as 'distinguished' was based on more than one criterion. Worcester's is the earliest extant example of the centralised designs that became a feature of English chapterhouses. The circularity of ecclesiastical buildings is an important aspect of the relationship between their form and function and raises questions about whether a building's shape was chosen for expressive purposes and whether it would function as it did regardless of shape. Krautheimer argued, 'It would certainly be a mistake to assume that symbolic interpretation was always the preponderant reason for giving a structure a certain shape.'[22] In the case of Worcester chapter house Stratford remarked, 'It cannot be claimed that the ground-plan of the Worcester room is capable of a purely functional explanation' (and indeed a ground plan in itself does not impart much information as to the function of a building).[23]

Worcester's circularity was intrinsic to the effect of viewing the cycle of paintings in the vault; indeed, the cycle would not have 'worked' without the suggestion of eternity that is anticipated by the shape. Another claim to distinction was the internal arrangement of ten bays instead of the later preferences for eight or twelve. This number resounds with the Ten Commandments, the basis of Judeao-Christian law

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[22] R. Krautheimer, 'Introduction to an Iconography of Medieval Architecture', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 5 (1942), pp. 1-33.

[23] Stratford, 'Notes on the Chapterhouse at Worcester,' p. 55.

and as a noted already, is a number saturated in symbolic significance. The typological alliances that generated the imagery was also ahead of its time, predating Nicolas of Verdun's Klosterneuburg altar of 1181 and the Canterbury glass of the same period often regarded as the supreme examples of versified imagery.[24]

The final verse of the proem informs the viewer, 'Mary, the devout Virgin with her child, stands painted suckling the Infant Thunderer of Heaven and Earth.' Since Mary and the infant Christ were elements of *Tree of Jesse* imagery, the proem may refer to such. *Tree of Jesse* imagery is generated by Isaiah, 11.1: 'and there shall come forth a rod out of the root of Jesse: and a flower shall rise up out of his root.' [25] Material evidence for the *Tree* is not as conclusive as that for the images in the vault. Nevertheless, the shape of the column evokes that of a tree trunk and thus is perfectly constructed as support for the imagery in the 'branches' above. Also significant is the associative link between 'tree' and the Crucifixion in bay five which was directly opposite the entrance to the chapterhouse. Hence the tree of the Cross was conceptually inseparable from the tree of Jesse that supported the entire construction.

Paul explained how the Jews were still a holy people, using tree imagery of which there is abundance in both Testaments:

> If the root is holy, so are the branches...but those branches that were grafted on: [the gentiles] ought not to imagine that they are above the host but fortunate to be sharing its rich sap: after all, if you, cut off from what was by nature a wild olive, could then be grafted unnaturally onto a cultivated olive, how much easier will it be for them, the branches that naturally belong there, to be grafted on the olive tree which is their own (Romans, 11.16-24).

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[24] See especially H. Buschhausen, 'The Klosterneuburg Altar of Nicholas of Verdun: Art, Theology and Politics,' *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 37 (1974), pp. 1-32.

[25] Although, as A. Watson notes, the iconographic roots of the *Tree of Jesse* is elusive. A. Watson, *The Early Iconography of the Tree of Jesse*, Oxford, 1934, p. 83. For an account of how the *Tree of Jesse* may stem from the *Play of the Prophets* see E. Mâle, *Religious Art in France*: *The Twelfth Century*: *A Study of the Origins of Medieval Iconography*, trans. from the French, *L'Art religieux du X11e siècle en France*: *Etude sur l'origine de l'Iconographie du Moyen Age*, pp. 173-7.

So between bays five and ten (anti-clockwise, returning to her past) a transformation in *Synagoga* took place. Finally, it is no matter of coincidence that once free of her blindfold *Synagoga* would see Christ carrying his own cross.[26] *Synagoga* would look upon Christ, 'the master (who) provides the patterns which anyone who desires to be his minister should follow.' No longer blind to the innermost meaning of the Law, she would, like the monks who looked up to her, follow him with all docility and obedience.

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[26] Only John states that Jesus carried his own cross (19.17) the synoptics that it was Simon of Cyrene: Matthew, 27.32, Mark, 15.21, Luke, 23.26.

Chapter 3: The representation of *Synagoga* in Crucifixion imagery

The representation of *Synagoga* in Crucifixion imagery in the period *c*.1000-1200 is the main focus of this chapter based on imagery in various media, supported by relevant texts. A discussion of potential antecedents in some Carolingian ivory plaques is included. The purpose of this approach is to establish and analyse the stages and means by which *Synagoga* was debased in the context of the Crucifixion. I will argue that the first crusade was a catalyst for the rekindling of the anti-Jewish animus evident in some of the gospel narratives and that it influenced the production of imagery that portrayed *Synagoga* with the instruments of the Passion and rendered her a blindfold criminal: the killer of Christ.

The Crucifixion is most frequent locus for the representation of *Synagoga* where she is invariably paired with *Ecclesia* beneath the horizontal arm of the Cross, respectively to left and right.[1] The Crucifixion as a subject of representation is outlined briefly to show its relevance to the *Synagoga*–*Ecclesia* configuration and to the structure of the main aspects of the argument. It will be argued that patrons and designers of Crucifixion imagery selected and assimilated passages of Jewish scripture to validate their faith in Christ as the awaited Messiah. Iconographic motifs such as the gambling barrel, the sponge and the spear were included in imagery as evidence of the Crucifixion as the fulfilment of scripture. Typological correspondences that support the concept of 'fulfilment' will be discussed as appropriate. That the gospel accounts of the Passion particularly those of Matthew and John were intrinsically hostile to those Jews who were their contemporaries will

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[1] Aside from Crucifixion imagery the configuration of *Synagoga* and *Ecclesia* is rare but in addition to some of the *Song of Songs* illustrations discussed in Chapter 2 there are exceptions, the most apposite is that of the Unveiling of *Synagoga* at St-Denis, discussed in the previous chapter.

be demonstrated. The repetition of these Passion narratives reinforced and perpetuated the animosity of 'the Jews' to Christ and conceivably animated antagonism in listeners to the extent that *Synagoga*'s function as an abstraction became one of actuality.

Crucifixion was a method of execution adopted by the Romans who had occupied Palestine and ruled the Jews since 63 B.C.E.[2] The condemned were stripped naked and their garments were treated as booty (Psalm 22.18, John, 19.23-24).[3] As with any subjugated nation the Jews looked to a time when their freedom would be restored: for Jews, this would happen when the awaited Messiah appeared. Unlike those who became his disciples during his ministry and following his death, many Jews did not believe that Jesus was he for, among other things, his ignominious death did not accord with messianic expectations. The early Christians were also conscious of the degrading nature of crucifixion and it was deemed to be an inappropriate subject of portrayal; at least there is no extant evidence for it before the fifth century. What may be the earliest reference to the Crucifixion is derisive and shows Christ with the head of an ass while a man looks on **(Fig. 1)**.[4]

A time-honoured tradition maintains that following Constantine's vision of the Cross during his battle with Maxentius at the Milvian Bridge and the subsequent Edict of Milan in 313, Christians were allowed freedom of worship and the Cross became a symbol of victory and contributed to the establishment of the Cross as an element of

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[2] See J. Laurence, *A History of Capital Punishment with special reference to Capital Punishment in Great Britain*, London, 1997, pp. 220-224.

[3] See also G. Abbott, *The Book of Execution*: *An Encyclopaedia of Methods of Judicial Execution*, London, 1994.

[4] Graffito, on one of the walls of the imperial pages' house on the Palatine in Rome discovered in 1857 and variously dated between the first and second centuries, now in Rome, Palatine Antiquarium. The Greek inscription roughly translates 'Alexamenos worships his God.' See R. Levett-Prinsep, *Addressing the Alexamenos Image*, Undergraduate Dissertation, University of East Anglia, Norwich, 2001.

devotional art. The representation of the Crucifixion however was subject to change through time and circumstance. The finding of the relics of the True Cross in 320 by Helena, the mother of Constantine may also have generated devotion that was enhanced by imagery. The discovery was visualised in the Stavelot Triptych, a renowned example of Mosan enamelwork of around the middle of the twelfth century **(Fig. 2)**.[5] One of the medallions shows Helena enthroned near a group of Jews all of whom wear a version of the *judenhut*, the Jew-hat whose significance is discussed below **(2 a**). Inscribed scrolls enhance the narrative: Helena asks the Jews the whereabouts of the tree and they tell her that Judas knows. The threat of a nearby fire prompts the Jews to respond and Judas is directed to tell Helena where to find the Cross.

Extant early-Christian Crucifixion imagery is sparing of the details provided by the evangelists of whom only John was a witness. The Crucifixion in a panel of one of the wooden doors at the church of Santa Sabina in Rome (consecrated in 432) provides a very stark abbreviation of the gospel narrative **(Fig. 3)**.[6] Christ is situated between the two thieves but the crosses have not been included; nor has Mary and John or indeed any of the persons mentioned in the gospels **(Fig. 3 a)**. Luke 23.39-43 describes how one of the thieves crucified with Christ was abusive while the other supported and recognised Christ. Hence from at least the time of the S. Sabina door, it figures in crucifixion iconography were paired to demonstrate the conflict between good and evil in much the same way as in the *Psychomachia*. A kind of iconographic polarity was established and was extended to *Synagoga* once she began to be included. The two thieves came to embody repentance and intransigence. The

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[5] From the Benedictine Abbey of Stavelot, 1156-8, now New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, W. Voelkle, *The Stavelot Triptych: Mosan art and the Legend of the True Cross*, Oxford, 1980.

[6] Mâle, *Early Churches*, pp. 49-59.

apocryphal *Acts of Pilate* names the two thieves as Dysmas and Gestas and M.R. James has noted, ‘the view that Dysmas was the good one has prevailed’ and was situated to the right of Christ.[7] ‘Longinus’ and ‘Stephaton’ became conveniences for expressing revelation, leading to salvation, as against ignorance and hostility.

Although the physicality of the suffering, dying Christ may not have always been portrayed, the Cross in its various forms was hallowed.[8] In 1095 Pope Urban II (1088-1099) advocated a holy war ostensibly to liberate the Holy Sepulchre from Moslem control: the first crusade which is discussed below. A cross was sewn on the garments of those who set off to the Holy Land doubtlessly inspired by Matthew, 16.24: ‘if anyone wants to be a follower of mine let him renounce himself and take up his cross and follow me.’

> Oh how fitting and how pleasing to us all to see those crosses, beautiful, whether of silk, or of woven gold, or any kind of cloth, which these pilgrims, by order of Pope Urban, sewed on the shoulders of their mantles or cassocks, or tunics, once they had made the vow to go…since they thus marked themselves with this symbol under the acknowledgement of faith, finally they very truly obtained the Cross of which they carried the symbol. They adopted the sign that they might follow the reality of the sign.[9]

A number of Pauline writings refer to the Cross as the focus of veneration, power and reconciliation.[10] Significantly, 1 Corinthians, 1.23, ‘we preach Christ crucified; unto the Jews indeed a stumbling block, and unto the gentiles foolishness’ summarises the bewilderment of those outside Christ’s circle of followers. As for the gentiles, especially the Greeks, a guiding principle was wisdom. Wisdom could not

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[7] M.R. James, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, Oxford, 1953, p. 104.

[8] The function of High Crosses in the Christianisation of England is discussed by J. Mitchell ‘The High Cross and Monastic Strategies in Eighth-century Northumbria,’ in P. Binski and W. Noel (eds.), *New Offerings*, *Ancient Treasures: Studies in Medieval Art for George Henderson*. Stroud, 2001, pp. 88-114.

[9] Fulcher of Chartres (1059-1127), quoted in A.C. Krey, *The First Crusade*: *the Accounts of Eye-Witnesses and Participants*, Princeton, New Jersey, 1921, pp. 280-81.

[10] 1Corinthians, 1.17, Galatians, 2.19, Ephesians, 2.16, Philippians, 3.18, Colossians, 2.14.

reconcile salvation with so heinous a death but with characteristic aplomb Paul argued, ‘the foolishness of God is wiser than men’ (1Corinthians, 1.25). While Paul emphasised the soteriological dimension of the Cross when preaching to the Jews, two of the evangelists, Matthew and John, are particularly inclined to castigate ‘the Jews’ for the part they allegedly played in the Crucifixion.

Although early portrayals of Christ on the Cross were minimal and perhaps not intended to elicit great emotion, such portrayal changed, albeit over a very long period and through various circumstance. Devotion to the human, suffering Christ encouraged the production of Crucifixion imagery although poems such as the Anglo-Saxon, *The Dream of the Rood* encouraged a stoical response to Christ’s suffering. In the Carolingian period, Christ, the ‘Thunderer’ was often portrayed alive on the Cross and will be seen in the discussion of some Carolingian Crucifixion plaques. Still as Rachel Fulton has shown, the twelfth century witnessed a surge in devotion to the Passion of Christ. The following account describes one of the dreams of Rupert of Deutz (*c.*1075-1135) in which he was standing before an altar:

> And yet, it was not enough for me, except that I should touch his hands and embrace him and kiss him. But what was I to do? He was too high up on the altar for me to reach. Seeing which thought or rather desire of mine, he wanted the same thing. For I sensed what he wanted, and with a nod of his will, the altar itself opened up in the middle and received me running inside. When I had entered as quickly as I could, I took hold of ‘him whom my soul loves’ [*Song of Songs*, 1.6] and I held him, and embraced him, and kissed him eagerly for a long time. I sensed how pleasing he found this gesture of love, when in the midst of the kissing he opened his mouth, so that I could kiss him the more deeply.[11]

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[11] Rupert of Deutz, *De Gloria et Honore Filii Hominis*, Book. 12, in R. Fulton, *From Judgement to Passion*: *Devotion to Christ and the Virgin Mary*, *800-1200*, New York, 2002, p.310.

Rupert's sensual description of intense physical love for Christ provides an almost voyeuristic glimpse of the way in which the recollection of Christ's Passion affected his devotion.

The representation of Mary, mother of Christ is a very significant element of Crucifixion imagery. Mary's efficacy as mediatrix is well known from accounts of miracles she performed when beseeched by the faithful, and not so faithful.[12] In Crucifixion imagery, the portrayal of Mary also varies. Mary's helplessness and grief is self-evident but as Amy Neff has shown, artists intensified Mary's response to the suffering of Christ by showing her swooning although in the medieval period her emotions must be controlled as is seemly for a lady.[13]

Of the gospel narratives, only John mentions the presence of Mary at the Crucifixion: 'seeing his mother and the disciple whom he loved standing near, Jesus said to his mother, ''Woman, this is your son.'' Then to the disciple he said he said, ''this is your mother.'' (John, 19.25). That Christ uses both 'woman' and 'mother' is significant. In Genesis 2.23 'the man' [Adam] says of 'the woman [Eve] 'she is to be called Woman because she was taken from Man.' Hence, Eve was the first woman, the mother of all and she disobeyed the will of God. Unlike Eve, Mary obeyed the will of God; she is the 'new' Eve, mother of Christ's followers of whom John, a Jew is included. So when the dying Christ tells his Mother 'this [John] is your son,' he

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[12] There is the well-known legend of Theophilus who, with the help of a sorcerer (a Jewish sorcerer in the account by Jacobus de Voragine) sells his soul to the devil in order to regain his office. In time Theophilus repented and beseeched the Virgin, who saved him.

[13] A. Neff, 'The Pain of *Compassio*: Mary's Labor at the Foot of the Cross,' *Art Bulletin*, 80 (1998), pp. 254-273 and S. Lipton, '''The Sweet Lean of His Head:'' Writing about looking at the Crucifix in the High Middle Ages,' *Speculum*, 80 (2005), pp. 1172-1208.

asks the followers of the second Eve, *Ecclesia* to care for the sons of the first Eve, including the Jews.[14]

Longinus and Stephaton

The soldier, 'Longinus', who pierced Christ's side and 'Stephaton' the sponge bearer are invariably included in Crucifixion imagery. The Passion narratives do not mention them by name but some apocryphal accounts do. The apocryphal Acts of Pilate also known as the Gospel of Nicodemus describes how after Christ's death 'Longinus pierced his side with a spear' (Chapter7). The apocryphal Letter of Pilate to Herod mentions 'Longinus, the believing Christian.'[15] Among early examples, Longinus and Stephaton appear in the Rabula Gospels of 586 and are also represented in the painting of the Crucifixion in the Chapel of Theodotus, Santa Maria Antiqua in Rome dated to around the middle of the eighth century **(Fig. 4) (Fig. 5)**. Stephaton and Longinus were historical witnesses to the Crucifixion and became established in imagery before *Synagoga* and *Ecclesia* amplified their functions. Like *Ecclesia*, Longinus acknowledged that Christ was the Son of God (Matthew, 27.54, Mark, 15.39). The chief priest and elders mocked Christ. So did Stephaton: he gave Christ 'sour wine' when Christ said, 'I am thirsty' (John, 19.28-9).[16]

Stephaton's act carried malevolent overtones because of a reference in St. Mathew, 27.34 where Christ is offered 'wine to drink, mingled with gall.'[17]

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[14] As noted by Neff, 'Ambrose interpreted Mary's motherhood of John to be an analogy of the Church (Mary) becoming mother of those who at the Crucifixion begin to be sons of the Church.' Neff, 'Pain of *Compassio*' p.271.

[15] James notes a problem with dating, *Apocryphal New Testament*, p. 94. However; James maintains that the part containing the story of the Passion and the Resurrection 'is not earlier than the fourth century.' The thirteenth-century *Golden Legend of Jacobus of Voragine* relates how Pilate appointed Longinus to attend the Crucifixion and that Longinus became one of Christ's followers.

[16] Only Luke writes that it was one of the soldiers who offered the drink, Luke 23.36.

[17] Mark and Luke describe the drink as vinegar. See Mark, 15.36 and Luke, 23.36.

Stephaton's involvement 'fulfils' Psalm 69.21, 'and for my thirst they gave me vinegar to drink…may their eyes grow dim.' The appropriation of this verse of scripture is particularly telling. The psalmist asks God to punish his oppressors: may they be made blind for tormenting him. Hence, one of the determinants of *Synagoga*'s 'blindness' emerges and endorses the 'good-bad,' 'saved' 'damned' polarity: Stephaton to left of Christ, Longinus to right. Stephaton's cruelty was designed to elicit negative responses from viewers. Longinus, who asked nothing of Christ, was cured of his 'blindness' and is listed among the saints.[18]

To fulfil the scriptures

Awareness of how the evangelists' recollection of scripture was introduced or followed by the formula 'that the word of scripture' or of 'the prophet' be fulfilled is another important aspect of Crucifixion scenes.[19] One that is of particular interest is John, 19.36-7, 'these things were done that the scriptures might be fulfilled…they shall look on him, whom they pierced.'[20] The verse recalls Zechariah, 12.10 and is appropriated by John to intimate Jews' responsibility for the death of Christ, although an element of eschatological significance is also implicit in this verse: 'Look, he is coming on the clouds; everyone will see him, even those who pierced him' (Revelation, 1.7). Thus, Christians believed that at the end of time the Jews would acknowledge Christ. This expectation affected some aspects Last Judgement iconography and is explored in Chapter four.

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[18] Although details of his canonisation are obscure, Longinus has a day, March 15,th in his memory.

[19] Matthew and John are replete with examples. See Matthew, 1.22; 2.15; 23, 8.17; 12.17; 13.35; 21.4; 27.35; John, 12.38; 15.25; 17.12; 18.9, 32; 19.24, 28.36.

[20] Textual references to Jesus nailed, not tied to the Cross are in the apocryphal Gospel of Peter, 'and they plucked the nails from the hands of the Lord' James, *Apocryphal New Testament*, p. 91. In John, 20.25, Thomas says, 'unless I can see the holes that the nails made in his hands and put my hand into his side, I refuse to believe' (hence the sobriquet 'doubting').

Psalm 22 is another Old Testament source which resonates with Crucifixion iconography. Verse 2: 'my God why hast thou forsaken me' was repeated by Christ according to Matthew 27.46 and Mark, 15.34. More tangible elements of Crucifixion iconography also owe their origin to hindsight. Hence, Psalm 22.18, 'they divide my garments among them and cast lots for my clothing' is the source for the gambling barrel sometimes depicted in the vicinity of the Cross **(Fig. 6)**.[21] Zechariah, 9.9 is a triumphant verse: 'Rejoice heart and soul, daughter of Zion! Shout for joy, daughter of Jerusalem! Look, your king is approaching; he is vindicated and glorious, riding on a donkey, on a colt, the foal of a donkey.' In Matthew 21.1-5 (Christ's entry into Jerusalem), Jesus says, 'Go to the village facing you, and you will at once find a tethered donkey and a colt with her. Untie them and bring them to me.' Matthew adds, 'this was to fulfil what was spoken by prophet,' implying Zechariah, 9.9.

From the narratives of the evangelists it is understood that the Crucifixion took place on the eve of Passover and thus the bodies of the crucified had to be removed before the Sabbath. Pilate gave consent for their legs to be broken in order that death would be swift and the soldiers and onlookers might leave and go home. But this was not necessary; Christ was dead already. 'Because all this happened to fulfil the words of scripture: Not one of his bones will be broken' (Psalm. 34.29). (John. 19.31-37). Exodus.12.46 gives some of the ordinances for the Passover Lamb: 'nor may you break any of its bones.' Yahweh takes care of all their bones, not one of them will be broken' (Psalm 34.20). The legs of Christ, Lamb of God were not broken. Hence the Psalm was fulfilled.

The role of *Synagoga*

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[21] Utrecht Psalter, Utrecht, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, MS 32, fols. 12r-12v. See also below, an ivory plaque *c*.900 from Metz, Paris, Bib. Nat. Cod. Lat. 9383.

The representation of *Synagoga* in Crucifixion imagery is influenced by her function which varies. Invariably it is the case that what *Synagoga* has to say, the words assigned to her, what she holds, how she is dressed, her mien or 'body language' help to define her purpose and to confirm her reputation. *Synagoga* is frequently scornful of the dying Christ; she turns her back on him and walks away **(Fig. 7)**. Sometimes *Synagoga* holds the instruments of the Passion: she is the 'killer' of Christ **(Fig. 8)**. *Synagoga* personifies what Christians believed to be the failings of the Jews: their 'blindness,' their carnal nature and she becomes at best, the abstract scapegoat. Following the first crusade, she becomes a surrogate for the Jews themselves. Less controversially *Synagoga* personifies First Testament history, the Judaism of the First Covenant, the ancient Temple

Compared to that of *Synagoga*, *Ecclesia*'s role in Crucifixion imagery is static. *Ecclesia* personifies the institution and the stewardship of the Eucharist, the New Covenant between Christ and his followers at the 'Last Supper' narrated in the gospels.[22] This covenant was 'new' to distinguish it from that made between God and Moses on Mount Sinai, a covenant nonetheless still valid for Jews and for nascent Christianity. *Ecclesia* stands to the right of Christ beneath the Cross and saves the blood of the Redeemer in a chalice held in her right hand. Such scenes visualise Psalm 116.13: 'I will take the chalice of salvation: and I will call upon the name of the Lord.' The scene is represented in the Utrecht Psalter where '*Ecclesia*' is male **(Fig. 9)**.[23] But in some situations the identity of *Synagoga* is not so readily apparent, while in others her possession of the instruments of the Passion is intended to show that she

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[22] Matthew, 26.26-9, Mark, 14.22-5, Luke, 22.19-20.

[23] Utrecht Psalter, Utrecht, University Library, MS 32, fol. 67*r*. As far as I know, the earliest representation of *Ecclesia* with the chalice to the wound is in the mid ninth-century Drogo Sacramentary Paris, Bib. Nat. Cod. Lat. 9428. fol. 43*v*

bears responsibility for the death of Christ. In the absence of inscription or attribute the reputation of *Synagoga* and sometimes her identity have to be assumed from other clues in the drama.[24]

Carolingian antecedents

The basic iconography of Crucifixion imagery has been established. Before resuming discussion of the role of *Synagoga*, a brief exploration of some Carolingian antecedents of the portrayal of '*Synagoga*' is included, the purpose of which is to demonstrate how the hostility that was registered in *Synagoga* for her alleged role in the death of Christ originated in the Carolingian period, albeit tentatively expressed. Some ninth-century ivory plaques form the basis of the discussion which, as Lasko has stated owe aspects of both style and iconography to the Utrecht Psalter: an illustrated version of the Psalms compiled *c*. 820-835 in Hautvillers at the Benedictine monastery there.[25]

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[24] In 'Three Mysterious Ladies Unmasked', *Journal of Jewish Art*, 10 (1984), pp. 14-28, R. Mellinkoff expresses surprise that 'the woman in yellow who looms so large in the foreground of Veronese's *Crucifixion* (1570-1580, Paris, Louvre) has not been correctly identified' **(Fig. 10)**. Mellinkoff refuted the suggestion made by Terisio Pignatt in his *Veronese*, Venice, 1976, 1, p. 86, '…*una figura di Maddalena coperta da un'ampia cappa gialla*,' that she is the Magdalene; Mellinkoff argues that the woman is *Synagoga*, and that the Magdalene is the woman in red at the foot of the Cross. Colour symbolism provides a clue. Mellinkoff argues that yellow is often associated with Jews, particularly as the colour for Judas Iscariot's coat. 'When yellow is associated with the sun and with gold, it can signify divinity and nobility, health and wealth. But yellow is also naturally associated with bile, urine, and faeces, and then it can symbolise a host of unpleasant things,' R. Mellinkoff, *Outcasts*: *Signs of Otherness in Northern European Art of the Later Middle* Ages, Berkeley, 1993, 1, p. 34. Then there is the fact that *Synagoga*'s eyes are obscured by the hood of her cloak, alluding to blindness, a charge often levelled at her. In addition, Mellinkoff points to the small red horns on the executioner's hat as another symbol of the evil and devilry often associated with Jewry. (The idea of associating Jews with the Devil may have a foundation in the New Testament: 'you are from your father, the Devil, and you prefer to do what your father wants. He was a murderer from the start' John, 8.42-4). Finally, Mellinkoff interprets the look on the evangelist's face as one of contempt for *Synagoga*. Whether or not Mellinkoff convinces her readers (she speaks in terms of 'hypotheses' rather than 'indisputable conclusions') the clash of opinion regarding the identity of the woman in the yellow robe draws attention to the need for caution when deciding who is who in imagery.

[25] Utrecht, University Library, MS. 32 P. Lasko, *Ars Sacra*, Harmondsworth, 1972. See also S. Ferber, 'Crucifixion Iconography in a Group of Carolingian Ivory Plaques,' *The Art Bulletin*, 48 (1966), pp. 323-334; E. de Wald, The *Illustrations of the Utrecht Psalter*, Princeton, New Jersey, 1933, p.52, pl. CV (lower register); K. van der Horst, W. Noel, W.C.M Wüstefeld (eds.), The *Utrecht Psalter in Medieval Art*: *Picturing the Psalms of David*, Westrenen, 1996, p. 68.

Diverse references in the Old Testament indicate that ivory was highly valued. Ivory was an element of Solomon's wealth (1 Kings, 10.18), the Psalmist spoke of ivory palaces, (45.8), the bridegroom in the *Song of Songs* has a belly, a block of ivory (5.14) the bride's neck is an ivory tower (7.5). Pliny the Elder, in his *Natural History*, commented on the value of ivory in his description of the elephant.[26] The imagery on the ivories is exclusive to this medium, a relatively indestructible material that cannot be easily defaced or, unlike precious metals such as gold and silver, be melted down. The extravagance of the scenes portrayed does not relate to any known previous visual source and neither can they cannot be anchored securely by any textual authority. This suggests that the iconography was an innovative aspect of Carolingian art. In several respects the iconographical elements of the plaques are very similar so discussion is limited to the salient points. Some of the plaques provide evidence of estrangement between the mourners, *Ecclesia* and the unidentified female beneath the Cross.

Such is the scene in a Crucifixion scene on a plaque of *c*. 900 from Metz **(11)**.[27] Christ looks down to the face of *Ecclesia* who holds a 'chalice' to the wound in his side. Opposite *Ecclesia*, John looks up towards the face of Christ while a female figure, whose back is turned to Christ, hurriedly leaves the scene, her nose in the air expressing scorn and contempt. Unlike *Ecclesia* she has no crown. Indeed there is neither inscription nor attribute that would indicate her function, but by turning her back on Christ it is clear that she wishes to offend and reject him as did the Jews (see especially, John, 7.1, Matthew, 27.22, 1 Thessalonians, 2.14-15).

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[26] *Pliny*, *the Elder*, *Natural History*, H. Rackham, (trans.), Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1958-62, 3, pp. 3-29.

[27] Metz *c.* 900, Florence, Museo Nazionale del Bargello, avorio Carrand, inv. 32, Schreckenberg, *Jews in Christian Art*, p. 32.

Close to the feet of Christ on the Cross is a snake, reminder of the first sin brought about by Eve's submission to the snake in the Garden, for which the death of Christ atones. At the bottom of the composition are the shrouded figures of the dead rising from their tombs as described by Matthew, 27.52. Beneath the left arm of the Cross Stephaton extends the sponge to Christ. Below the right arm, Longinus pierces the right side of Christ with a spear. Behind *Ecclesia* stands Mary the Mother of Jesus, her hands covered in her cloak in an ancient expression of mourning.

A very similar scene on an ivory of roughly the same time and also from Metz also includes an unidentified female **(12)**.[28] Included also are personifications of Sea and Earth in the lowest register both of which look up at the figure of Christ to acknowledge his place in Creation. Of those directly beneath the Cross only one, a female, is without a halo: she is unsanctified. Furthermore, she holds a standard with a three-tongued flag at the top to indicate that she has authority and a hold on territory. She looks towards the face of Christ as if speaking, but she turns her back to him. As with the Bargello plaque it is evident that the unidentified female turns her back on Christ in order to offend and reject him.

An ivory plaque of *c*.870 later became lavishly enveloped in precious gems and enamels in the eleventh century originally served as the back cover of a gospel book belonging to Charles the Bald **(13)**.[29] The scene is a complex arrangement of elements of witnesses and iconography: the dead rising, the Marys at the empty tomb, Longinus and Stephaton, the women of Jerusalem. The identities and functions of the figures at the bottom have been vigorously debated by scholars but a consensus is

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[28] London, Victoria and Albert Museum, No. 250.67.
[29] Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. Lat. 4452.

wanting. Undoubtedly the enthroned female figure in the centre has a close association with 'God:' the hand of God protruding through a cloud is on a direct axis with her right hand. She may be or may not be Roma. The figure to the right is a personification of Earth while to the left is a personification of the Sea.[30] Near the left arm of the Cross is a female seated beneath a gabled edifice. She wears a crown and the hem of her garment is decorated. Here is a highly respected person; her general stance and attitude is not unlike that of King David who is seated beneath a similar construct in the Utrecht Psalter illustration to Psalm eighteen.[31] Further comparisons are the ruler portrait of Charles the Bald in the San Paolo Bible and the portrait of Charles the Bald on the *Cathedra Petri* in Rome.[32]

The female figure holds a round object that resembles a dish. Her head leans towards a figure standing beside her and the two appear to be in conversation. The standing figure resembles the *Ecclesia* beneath the right arm of the Cross: the standards are identical. But who the seated figure is and what relationship she bears to the one standing next to her is far from clear although it can be hypothesised. *Ecclesia* is represented for a second time and is talking to the seated woman about the dish. The dish represents that on which the loaves of permanent offering were placed in the Ark of the Covenant (Exodus, 25.29, 37.16). *Ecclesia* asks that the dish be relinquished because the New Covenant brings eternal life in Christ, the Bread of Life. The purpose of the encounter between the two women has been debated. Stanley

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[30] R .Melzak quotes *Pange lingua* as a possible stimulus for the personifications of Earth, Sea, Stars and World: 'the hymn describes the salvation resulting from Christ's Crucifixion as extending to Terra, Pontus, Astra, Mundus,' R. Melzak, 'Antiquarianism and the Art of Metz,' in P. Goodman and R. Collins (eds.), *Charlemagne*'s *Heir*, *New Perspectives on the Reign of Louis the Pious* (*814-840*), Oxford, 1990, p. 639.

[31] Utrecht, University Library, MS 32, fol.10*v*.

[32] Charles the Bald enthroned, S.Paolo Bible, Rome, Abbazia di S. Paolo fuori le Mura, fol. 1. See W.J.Diebold, 'The Ruler Portrait of Charles the Bald in the S. Paolo Bible,' *The Art Bulletin*, 76 (1994), pp. 6-18.

Ferber argues, ‘the scene parallels that of Gabriel before Mary’ but there is no theological basis for such a scene in Crucifixion imagery.[33] The likelihood is that in scene of *Ecclesia* and the unidentified royal figure the designer wanted to express the transfer of the Old unto the New, the latter given due respect.

The final example is the ivory cover of a book of gospels of *c*.900 **(Fig. 14)**.[34] A seated figure in front of a turreted building (that is possibly a symbol of Jerusalem) holds a standard in her right hand and an object that has sometimes been described as a circumcision knife in the left, but it is not a circumcision knife. Rather, the object is a razor much like that in the Utrecht Psalter illustration of Psalm fifty-two. The razor recalls the story of Doeg’s betrayal of David in the First Book of Samuel, chapters 21and 22 which is the background to Psalm 52, ‘Why take pride in being wicked, you champion in villainy, all day long plotting crime? Your tongue is razor sharp, you artist in perfidy.’ So in the context of Doeg the razor recalls treachery and it might be concluded that *Ecclesia* is challenging *Synagoga* for having such a vice. But this is not so. Razors are also used to tonsure the head as an act of renunciation and the scene alludes to this in a metaphorical sense. *Ecclesia* has provided the razor so that *Synagoga*’s hair, an aspect of carnality can be renounced. ‘For this hair signifieth a superfluity of things temporal.’[35]

Agobard of Lyon *c*. 779-840

During the reign of Louis the Pious, 814-840 Jews were relatively well protected and were afforded privileges and safe conduct overseen by an official, the *Magister Judaeorum* who was responsible for their safety throughout the realm. Agobard,

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[33] Ferber, ‘Crucifixion Iconography’ pp. 323-334.

[34] Paris, Bib. Nat. Cod. Lat. 9383.

[35] Augustine, commentary on Psalm 52, http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/230609.htm.

Archbishop of Lyons made several attempts to change the Jews' situation. In a series of five letters to the Emperor Agobard advocated the segregation of Jews from Christians. One of his letters is *De iudaicis superstitionibus et erroribus* (On the Superstitions and Errors of the Jews) in which he accuses the Jews:

> There is not a page, not a sentence of the Old Testament concerning which lies have not been fabricated and recorded by their sages; or they themselves, even today, constantly contrive some new superstitions... [Jesus] was killed and was buried next to a certain aqueduct …the aqueduct was suddenly overcome by a flood, and though sought for twelve months on Pilate's order he was never found...They claim that Christians worship idols, and they are not ashamed of saying that those virtues obtained by us through the intercession of the saints are the work of the devil.[36]

Agobard seems to have taken the *Adversus Iudaeos* belligerence to an unprecedented limit and Louis rejected his 'evidence.' In another letter to Louis: *De Insolentia Judaeorum* (On the Insolence of the Jews), Agobard informed Louis that it was Jewish practice to sell what Jews themselves considered to be unclean meat to unsuspecting Christians, that they contaminated wine for sale to Christians, were impudently building new synagogues and even convincing simple Christians that the rabbis preached better sermons than their own priests.[37] Although he had little influence on Louis, the evidence suggests that Agobard certainly wanted to dishonour Jews. It cannot be cannot ascertained to what extent (if any) Agobard's attitude influenced the Crucifixion scenes discussed above. The images cannot be interpreted to fit the situation of the Jews or establish whether the imagery discussed was prompted by (or perhaps a response to) Agobard's attitude but all the same, his harsh words exemplify a destructive element in Judaeo-Christian relationships.

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[36] Cohen, *Living Letters*, pp. 129-30.

[37] A. Cabaniss, *Agobard of Lyons*, *Churchman and Critic*, Syracuse, 1953, p.67.

An attribute that is frequently assigned to both *Synagoga* and *Ecclesia* is the standard, as observed in the Carolingian ivories. A standard is an ancient denominator of territory, power and control and is an attribute that is of significance in the *Synagoga-Ecclesia* relationship. Invariably *Ecclesia*'s standard has a *vexillum*: a three-tongued flag possibly indebted to the legend of St. Peter and his presentation of the vexillum to Charlemagne.[38] The relevance of the standard is examined as an aspect of the historiated initial, *I* of *In Principio Erat Verbum….* (In the beginning was the word, John.1.5) in the Gospel Book of Odbert of St-Bertin folio 85*r* **(Fig. 15)**.[39] The border of the page is filled with images that allude to salvation history from beginning to end: the rivers of Paradise, Earth and Sea, the Harrowing of Hell, the Marys who discover the empty tomb, the assurance of the angel there, the presence of Peter, the rock on which the Church was founded, the Ascension of Christ.

Synagoga appears at the bottom of the initial *I* of *In Principio*; her name is inscribed in a banderol above her head, around which is a headband similarly inscribed so there is no doubt about who she is. Whereas in many examples of Crucifixion imagery *Synagoga* and *Ecclesia* occupy the same plane, here, *Synagoga* is situated beneath *Ecclesia*. From the discussion of prophets and apostles imagery in Chapter 2 this arrangement might be thought of as another version of the theme of 'standing on the shoulders of giants' but it is not. Rather, it is an indication of a vital development in the portrayal of *Synagoga* in Crucifixion imagery. That *Synagoga* and *Ecclesia* are vertically separated intimates hierarchy and power. *Synagoga*'s loss of

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[38] E. Leesti, 'Caroline Crucifixion Iconography: an Elaboration of a Byzantine Theme,' *Revue D'Art Canadienne*, 20 (1993), pp. 3-15.

[39] Early eleventh century, St-Omer, France. Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, MS. M. 333. See H.L. Kessler, *Seeing Medieval Art*, Peterborough, Ontario, 2004, p.72 and H. Swarzenski, *Monuments of Romanesque Art*: *The Art of Church Treasures in North-Western Europe*, London, 1954, fig. 161.

power is evident from her standard that has been lowered, while that of *Ecclesia* is raised. An element of defeat and triumph has entered the *Synagoga–Ecclesia* relationship. In another important development exemplified by an illumination in the Uta Codex *c*.1002, *Synagoga* is also at a disadvantage: she is represented, albeit tentatively as 'blind.'[40] Both the Odbert Gospel initial and the Uta codex testify to a deterioration of tolerance of Jews by Christians. As noted in the Introduction, Moore's thesis that those who do not comply with Christian doctrine become divested of their status is visually apparent in these two manuscripts.

The Uta Codex

The Uta Codex exemplifies the epitome of lavishly decorated ecclesiastical manuscripts, the product of the Benedictine convent of Niedermünster in Regensburg. Commissioned by the Abbess Uta (1002-1025) the manuscript was probably the work of Hartwic, a monk who was familiar with the complexities of schematic representation that were a strong feature of didactic art during the eleventh and twelfth centuries.[41] The manuscript measures 38 x 27 cm and has twelve illuminations among 119 parchment folios representing a substantial body of work that is bewildering in its scholarship.

The Crucifixion is on folio 3*v* and is enclosed in a rectangle that has corner medallions, two semi-circles to the sides and two contiguous ovals divided by a very long Cross, a means of emphasising its great relevance in salvation history and to the

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[40] Munich, Bavarian State Library, Clm. 13601. The Codex is known also as the Uta Evangelistary or the Pericopes of Uta.

[41] 'Throughout the Middle Ages geometric schemata were used principally in the study of the liberal arts and for the purpose of expressing the harmony of the Christian cosmos,' A. S. Cohen, *The Uta Codex*: *Art*, *Philosophy and Reform in Eleventh-Century Germany*, University Park, Pennsylvania, 2000, p.163.

other elements of the composition **(Fig. 16)**. As is so of many of the miniatures, the composition of the Crucifixion scene comprises geometric schemata such as squares, ovals and rectangles. Christ is represented as both king and priest and wears a crown and a stole, the former symbolising his kingship, the latter his priesthood.[42] Personifications of sun and moon are situated above the arms of the cross, enclosed in squares with *tituli* around two sides. The *titulus* for the sun reads, '*Igneus sol obscuratur in aethere quia sol iusticia patitur in cruce*.[43] That of the moon is, *Eclypsin patitur et luna quia de morte Christi dolet ecclesia*.[44]

The designer of the Crucifixion scene in the Uta Codex was thorough in his visual exposition of the events that accompanied the Crucifixion. The rending of the curtain of the Temple, the accompanying darkness and the rising of the dead are all represented. Other miniatures of the Codex incorporate music, philosophy, and geometry in their various compositions. Familiarity with the Liberal Arts was a prerequisite to understanding their significance. Inscriptions add to the wealth of detail and challenge the viewer's intellectual ability.

'Look and look but never perceive.'

Synagoga appears in the semi-circle to the left of Christ. In her left hand she holds one end of a scroll inscribed: *LEX TENET OCCASU* [*M*].[45] The scroll represents the Torah, the first five books of the Hebrew Bible: Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers

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[42] C.R. Dodwell notes that the stole may be a symbol of eternal life, *Painting in Europe: 800-1200*, Harmondsworth, 1971, p. 219, n. 180. See also the Letter to the Hebrews, 7.26, 'Such is the high priest that met our need, holy, innocent and uncontaminated, set apart from sinners, and raised up above the heavens.'

[43] Translation: The fiery sun is darkened in the sky because the sun of justice suffers on the cross.

[44] Translation: Even the moon suffers eclipse because the Church mourns over the death of Christ.

[45] Translation: The Law sets in the west.

and Deuteronomy, and constitute the laws by which Yahweh wanted the Israelites to live.[46] (Ten of these laws are familiar but the Torah entails 613 'commandments' many of which are now impracticable). A scroll of the Law is a significantly rare attribute for *Synagoga*. As will be seen, more often she holds the upturned tablets of the Law. The portrayal of *Synagoga* acknowledges her 'blindness.' Perhaps the only means her creators had of drawing attention to 'blindness' was to cover her eyes. Presented thus, *Synagoga* is not afflicted in the physical sense but is spiritually impaired. *Synagoga* cannot see the real significance of Christ's death. Her eyes are effectively covered by the inner band of the frame, a compositional device that subtly impedes her vision. However, Panofsky has suggested the band alludes to darkness: 'the fact that she plunges into darkness is only indicated by making the upper part of her head, including her eyes, disappear behind the frame in the same way as the sun vanishes behind the horizon.'[47] In an early fifteenth-century copy of the Uta Codex miniature from the Benedictine monastery in Metten, near Deggendorf in Bavaria a revision was made **(Fig. 17)**. *Synagoga* carries a goat, her eyes are blindfold, she wears a spiked *judenhut* and her standard is inverted.[48] The temperature of hostility towards *Synagoga* has been raised considerably by the addition of these new attributes.

One source of the 'blindness' of the Jews is Isaiah, 6.9-10: 'go and say to this people, 'listen and listen but never understand! Look and look but never perceive…make their eyes dull, shut their eyes tight, or they will use their eyes to see… and change their ways and be healed.' When John the Evangelist wants to draw

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[46] However, 'Torah' might also be used for the 39 books of the Hebrew Bible and for the oral laws and commentaries relating to these.

[47] E. Panofsky, *Studies in Iconology*: *Humanistic Themes in the Art of the Renaissance*, New York, 1962, p. 110.

[48] Munich, Staatsbibliothek, Clm 8201, fol. 97 *v*, Schreckenberg, *Jews in Christian Art*, p. 33.

attention to the Jews' unbelief he argues, 'though they had been present when he gave so many signs, they did not believe him; this was to fulfil the words of the prophet Isaiah, so he underlines what he perceives to be the longevity of the Jews' unbelief, (John,12.38). Although it would become more explicit, the Uta Codex is possibly the earliest visual reference to the notion of *Synagoga*'s 'blindness.'

The significance of the knife in *Synagoga*'s left hand is debatable. The knife evokes aspects of Jewish ritual that involved animal sacrifice, an element of worship no longer acceptable to Yahweh: 'I will not accept any bull from your homes nor a single goat from your folds' (Psalm 50.9). The knife could also relate to circumcision, an external reminder of the Covenant made between Yahweh and Abraham, binding on all male Jews eight days after birth (Genesis, 17.11-12). Prior to Paul's pronouncement on the subject ('in Christ Jesus it is not being circumcised or being uncircumcised that can effect anything-only faith working through love' (Galatians,5.5-6), there is evidence in support of the futility of circumcision of the flesh unless it is also of the heart, 'circumcise therefore the foreskin of your heart; and stiffen your necks no more' (Deuteronomy, 10.16), 'circumcise yourselves for Yahweh; apply circumcision to your hearts' (Jeremiah, 4.4).

Directly opposite *Synagoga* is *Ecclesia* whose crown is unusual and is possibly unique. The crown has a chalice on top and the origin of the arrangement is elusive.[49] *Ecclesia*'s inscription is *PIA GRATIA SURG* [*IT*] *I* [*N] ORTU* [*M*].[50] The inscriptions of *Synagoga* and *Ecclesia* encapsulate the object of the imagery which is

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[49] A.S. Cohen notes that a twelfth-century manuscript containing guidelines for liturgical costumes includes: *Ecclesia ferat calicem in c[a]pite et sit hone[s]ta*: *Ecclesia* ought to carry a chalice on her head and be beautiful. I have not been able to trace this so far. See Cohen, *Uta Codex*, p. 67. M. Lawrence has provided an interesting account of the crown motif in Marian imagery but she does not mention the *Uta Codex* example. See M. Lawrence, 'Maria Regina,' *The Art Bulletin*, 7 (1924), pp. 150-161.

[50] Translation: Holy Grace rises in the east.

to demonstrate harmony through opposites: *Synagoga*-Law, *Ecclesia*-Grace. They co-exist in order that each be evaluated; thus the strength of Virtue is known by the weakness of Vice and so also is Liberty better understood in relation to Captivity. Yet whereas *Synagoga* and *Ecclesia* are not in any obvious conflict, they are divided by the Cross. The Cross separates life and death, darkness and light, Grace and Law, oppositions that are by now a familiar feature of the *Synagoga*-*Ecclesia* configuration.

Vita, personification of Life, is situated in the lower oval, and is assured of the viewer's attention for she is close to Christ; the vividness of her pink and blue garments provide a stark contrast with the earth-coloured background. Moreover *Vita* has a crown and acknowledges Christ with outstretched arms in *orant* supplication. Opposite V*ita*, *Mors* is situated below *Synagoga* and he appears as a green-faced corpse. A length of cloth around the lower half of his face is a puzzling feature of *Mors*'s dress code. It is much like the material that covers the lower part of his legs but why the two might be connected remains obscure although it might be there as a means of keeping the head upright as is usual *post mortem*. *Mors*'s lance has snapped and is perhaps an allusion to Paul's first letter to the Corinthians, 'O death, where is thy victory? O death, where is thy sting?' (1 Corinthians, 15.55). A sprig that grows from the left side of the shaft of the Cross renders this the *arbor vitae*, a living Cross with power over death.

The strength of the sprig forces *Mors* to stoop and provides a dramatic contrast with the dignified posture of *Vita* which matches that of *Ecclesia*. Despite the seemingly contradictory attitudes of *Ecclesia* and *Synagoga* they are not in conflict and are not presented as entirely opposed or as combatants although this will be seen to be the case in later examples. Each is given equal space in the composition.

However, the representations of the torn curtain of the Temple in the bottom right square and its correspondence with the raising of the dead opposite endorses the crucial division between *Synagoga* and *Ecclesia* and with Life and Death: *Synagoga* belongs to death, *Ecclesia* to the revelation of everlasting life. More obvious ways of identifying *Synagoga* are found in headgear.

If the cap fits: the *judenhut*

Until the eleventh century Jews were not distinguishable or represented by a specific dress or iconographical motif.[51] A miniature from the Moutier-Grandval Bible which shows Moses receiving the tablets of the Law and expounding it to some Israelites who wear togas makes the point **(Fig. 18)**.[52] The Israelites' attire reflects Carolingian interest in the classical past and incidentally indicates that these Jews are members of ordinary society in antiquity and need not be singled out as different from anybody else at least not visibly so.[53] Following W.Cahn, it is worthwhile to compare the Moutier-Grandval example with a representation of the same event in a thirteenth-century manuscript where each Israelite wears the *judenhut* **(Fig. 19)**.[54] As an element

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[51] The Levitical injunction: 'I shall set you apart from all these peoples' (Leviticus, 20.26) alludes to the Israelites as summoned by God to be of special service. Other laws set out in Leviticus give details of what 'set apart' would entail, such as obeying certain dietary laws. But apart from Numbers, 15.38 and Deuteronomy, 22.11 and 12 there is no biblical injunction relating to distinctive clothing for Jews. Numbers, 15.38 requests: 'speak to the Israelites and tell them, for all generations to come, to put tassels on the hems of their clothes and work a violet thread into the tassel at the hem.' Deuteronomy, 22.11 and 12 remind the Israelites: 'You must not wear clothing woven part of wool, part of linen.' 'You must make tassels for the four corners of the cloak in which you wrap yourself.' See G. Kisch, 'The Yellow Badge in History,' *Historia Judaica*, 19 (1957), pp. 89-146.

[52] London, British Library, B.L. Add. MS 10546, fol. 25*v*, made between 834 and 843 at Tours.

[53] Circumcision defined one element of the early Church as is evident in a mosaic in the church of Santa Sabina, Rome, consecrated in 432 **(21)**. As a sign of Jewish 'difference' it was of interest to Justin, a Christian in his conversation with Trypho, a Jew, one of the many so-called Jewish-Christian 'dialogues:' 'You are not recognised among the rest of men by any other mark than your fleshly circumcision,' Williams, *Adversus Judaeos*, p. 35. So in Antiquity this *unseen* element of Jewish 'otherness' was all that distinguished Jew from Christian.

[54] Rudolf of Ems, *World Chronicle* Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 6406, fol. 68.

of dress code, the *judenhut* became the means of distinguishing Jews as different: not part of Christian society, outsiders.[55]

In the Essen Missal *c*.1100 the *judenhut* identified *Synagoga* as a contemporary Jew.[56] The image is on fol. 8*v* opposite the *Te igitur clementissime Pater*, the opening prayer of the canon of the mass during which the bread and wine are consecrated and prayers recalling the death of Christ are said **(Fig. 20)**.[57] The portrayal of *Synagoga* is a visual reminder of her part in his ordeal, reminders that perpetuated allegations of *Synagoga*'s 'guilt.' Hence, the celebrant, if not his congregation would have another reference to the charge against her. That the first crusade may have influenced the Essen Missal portrayal of *Synagoga* is likely since that event included the killing of Jews who would easily have been identified by the *judenhut*.

With downcast eyes an almost demure *Synagoga* looks towards the ground without regard to Christ or *Ecclesia*. Her left foot is poised as if ready to leave the scene; her standard is lowered but is still in one piece. *Synagoga* communicates nothing through words but the *judenhut* is a very significant articulator of who she is and what she represents. The *judenhut* takes *Synagoga* out of the realm of abstraction and into that of actuality and links her to those Jews who wore it as a matter of choice. The *judenhut* was also referred to by the Latin, *pileus cornutus*, horned hat. It took various shapes and designs, cone-shaped, funnel-shaped sometimes with a spike or a

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[55] W. Cahn, 'The Expulsion of the Jews as History and Allegory in Painting and Sculpture of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries,' in, M.A. Signer and J.van Engen (eds.), *Jews and Christians in the Twelfth Century*, Notre Dame, 2001, pp. 94-109.

[56] Düsseldorf, Heinrich-Heine-Institut, Cod. D 4. See G. Schiller, *Ikonographie der Christlichen Kunst*, Band 4, 1 *Die Kirche*, Gütersloh, 1966-1991, p.245.

[57] Translation: Thee, therefore, most merciful Father.

knob.[58] In various adaptations it became a standard iconographical detail of male Jewry. There is no way of knowing the extent of its use in real terms only that patrons and designers of ecclesiastical art frequently used it to define Jewishness. Although otherwise worn only by men, the *judenhut* became a feature of *Synagoga*'s costume. Hence the Essen Missal portrayal of *Synagoga* is another iconographical landmark: she represents contemporary Jews although Jews did not live in Essen until the late thirteenth century.[59] The Essen Missal *Synagoga* endorses Jewish 'guilt' for what Jews did in the distant past. That she wears an easily recognisable item of contemporary Jewish attire makes it easily known.[60]

Ecclesia's circlet crown is a contrast to *Synagoga*'s hat and is the means of distilling some quite complex ideas. A crown is a familiar symbol of both marriage and royalty (recall Vashti and Esther) and *Ecclesia*'s crown honours her as the Bride and Queen. Moreover, *Ecclesia* exudes an air of triumph: in her left hand she carries a three-tongued banner standard surmounted by a cross. It is difficult to ascertain when the cross standard was assigned to *Ecclesia* but an ivory relief from Liège *c.*1050 suggests that it was before the first crusade when, as noted above, the Cross became the emblem of all those who went to the Holy land **(Fig. 22)**.[61] So while the crown confirms *Ecclesia* as the chosen one of the Lord and the cross standard, victory, the *judenhut* distinguishes *Synagoga* as a Jew although she is not entirely ostracized. Except for the border on the top of *Ecclesia*'s dress, *Synagoga*'s dress is identical.

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[58] Two different versions of the hat are depicted on the twelfth century-bronze doors of the Cathedral of San Zeno, Verona. See A. Boeckler, *Die Bronzetür von Verona*, Marburg, 1931, 2, p.7.

[59] Encyclopaedia Judaica, Farmington Hills, Michigan, 2nd edition, 2007, 6, p. 509.

[60] Headgear is an obvious indicator of authority, occupation and status and can be exemplified with reference to an image taken from Aldobrandino of Siena, *Li Livres dou Santé*: Initial 'C': Cleric, Knight and Workman representing the three classes. London, British Library, B.L. Sloane 2435, fol. 85*v*.

[61] Liège, Institut Royal du Patrimoine Artistique, Brussels. Seiferth, *Church and Synagogue*, p.13.

The *judenhut* was often the object of derision and a mark of condemnation **(Figs. 23- 24)**.[62] Yet Jews proudly included it as a design on seals and it was regularly a feature in Hebrew manuscript illumination. In a scene of a Jewish marriage, bride and groom stand beneath a *chuppa*, a canopy that symbolises the transitory nature of their earthly home. The groom wears the *judenhut* for this happy occasion.[63] Albeit beyond the chronological limit of this dissertation, the troubadour Susskind von Trimberg proudly displays his *judenhut* before a bishop and two clerics (**Fig. 25)**.[64]

The *judenhut* was attributed to *Synagoga* to distinguish her as Jewish but the *judenhut* was also a means of identification for Jews who *were* revered by Christians. Joseph, the earthly father of Jesus, bridges the gap between the First and Second covenants. In a Psalter miniature in Berlin, the duality of Joseph's status is evident **(Fig. 26)**.[65] Joseph, (as in some other Nativity scenes) appears to be more of a bewildered onlooker than one who is vitally involved with Mary and the Christchild. Joseph also seems to have his back turned to a representation of the Law placed on an 'altar.' Still, the viewer is immediately aware that Joseph is a saintly Jew: his sanctity is confirmed by a halo, his Jewish identity by the *judenhut* **(Fig. 26)**.

The so-called St. Louis Psalter in Leiden, the Supper at Emmaus shows how the *judenhut* can both reveal and conceal the identity of the wearer (Luke, 24.30-32) **(Fig. 28)**.[66] Unlike the disciples with him whose Jewish identity is broadcast by their

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[62] *Moses with judenhut*. Miniature in a manuscript of Augustine written before 1165 but illustrated later in the twelfth century. Munich, Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 13085, part 2, fol. 89*r*. Caricature of English Jews, National Archives, Schreckenberg, *Jews in Christian Art*, p. 80.

[63] Jerusalem Jewish National and University Library Worms Mahzor, 1 Fol. 72 *c*.1272. See C.E. T.and M. Metzger *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages*: *Illuminated Hebrew Manuscripts of the Thirteenth to the Sixteenth Centuries*, New York, 1982, p. 336.

[64] Codex Manesse, fol. 355*r*. Heidelberg, University of Heidelberg Library, Codex Palatinus Germanicus 848.

[65] *c*.1230-40, Staatliche Museen Kupferstichkabinett, 78A 7 (no. 636).

[66] 'St. Louis' Psalter, Leiden, *c*.1200, Universitätsbibliothek, Hs BPL 76 a fol.27, Schreckenberg, *Jews in Christian Art*, p. 142.

hats, Jesus wears the hat in order to conceal his identity and to appear as one of the disciples: an ordinary Jew. The *judenhut* is therefore a frequent external identifier of Jews in medieval art and although it was also as a means of denigrating them, it was necessarily used selectively. It is apparent that while Jews might not be represented as conspicuously different to Christians in Antiquity, through time and circumstance the *judenhut* became the most discernible symbol of male Jewry. Although the *judenhut* was an attribute that set *Synagoga* apart from Christian society, it was sometimes the case that her body language gave more information than external attributes. The Cross of Gunhild provides such an example.[67]

The Cross of Gunhild

The Cross of Gunhild is one of three extant examples of medieval ivory crucifixes **(Fig. 29)**. The earliest of these (before 1063) is of elephant ivory, and was made for King Ferdinand 1 and Queen Sancha of León and Castille.[68] The Cloisters Cross of *c.*1170-90 is of walrus ivory like the Cross of Gunhild (which like that of the elephant was as precious as gold, albeit not weight for weight) and is discussed later. Gunhild's Cross is decorated on both sides possibly because it was designed for use on the altar and in processions.[69] Gunhild's Cross was made for highly privileged elite. Gunhild was a daughter of King Swend Estridsen of Denmark who died in 1076. Inscriptions on the front confirm Gunhild to be the person for who the cross was made. The height is 28.5 cm; the width of the arms is 22 cm and the medallions that terminate the arms, 2.5 cm. The *corpus* is missing but red pigment indicating the blood from the pierced

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[67] Copenhagen, Nationalmuseet, No. 9087.

[68] Discussed in E. C. Parker and C. T. Little, *The Cloisters Cross its Art and Meaning*, London, 1994, p. 16.

[69] From the fourth Vatican Council of 1215 until those of the 1960's, the priest *and* congregation faced east during Mass and so the priest had his back to the congregation. Facing east was in line with the sunrise, 'then I saw another angel rising where the sun rises, carrying the seal of the living God' (Revelation, 7.2). J.D. Holmes and B.W. Bickers provide an account of the reasons for changes in the orientation of church altars in their, *A Short History of the Catholic Church*, London, 1983, p. 129.

hands can be seen close to the medallions at the front of the Cross where *Synagoga* and *Ecclesia* are situated. *Ecclesia* is crowned and carries a cross standard in her right hand and a codex inscribed with her name in her left **(Fig. 30)**.

Ecclesia looks towards Christ while *Synagoga*, with eyes and lips closed fast looks away and pulls her dishevelled hair in a recognised attitude of despair.[70] *Synagoga* tears her garments, exposing a breast in an ancient expression of grief.[71] She has lost her status as the chosen one and can no longer be presented as dignified. *Ecclesia* is calm and self-assured but *Synagoga*'s body language conveys a sense of profound hopelessness and despair **(Fig. 31)**. In addition to *Synagoga* and *Ecclesia* the front shows *Vita* in the top medallion. Like that of *Ecclesia*, *Vita*'s composure is solid, assured by the crown on her head. The sceptre in *Vita*'s right hand terminates in a flower and endorses her function as a life-giving force while in the lower medallion her counterpart, *Mors*, is bent over in a coffin.

On the back of the Cross, the central medallion portrays Christ as Judge with some angels and in the uppermost medallion, is Lazarus in the bosom of Abraham and other saved souls.[72] Abraham was the first of the Patriarchs and in Pauline terminology was justified by faith alone when he answered the call of God and left his home in Ur to journey to Canaan.[73] Abraham is a frequent element of Last Judgement imagery: his 'bosom' is a refuge for the souls of those who died before the Incarnation and who avoid eternal damnation but do not enter Paradise.[74] Such is his

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[70] R. Bartlett, 'Symbolic meaning of hair in the Middle Ages,' *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 4 (1994), pp. 43-60.

[71] M. Yalom, *A History of the Breast*, London, 1998, especially Ch. 1, 'The sacred breast,' pp. 9-48.

[72] Luke, 16.19-26, the narrative of Dives and Lazarus is the source of this imagery.

[73] Romans 12.

[74] For a discussion of the bosom of Abraham and its possible connection to the concept of Purgatory, see J. le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory*, Chicago, 1984, *passim*.

function on the Gunhild Cross where his presence provides some relief from the wretchedness of the devil and the damned at the base of the Cross. This contrast is further enhanced by the medallions terminating the arms of the Cross where the Saved appear to the right of Christ, the Damned to his left. This reminder of the Last Judgement would face the priest and the congregation during mass, reminding them of their ultimate fate. What the iconography of the Cross of Gunhild reveals is the perception of *Synagoga* not so much as defeated in any sense of military might but more by shame and despair. As Such *Synagoga* might yet be redeemed by Christian sympathy but is not a possibility that was in the mind of the designer of the next example.

The Cloisters Cross

Of the Crucifixion images that demonstrate hostility towards the Jews, the Cloisters Cross while not a representation of the Crucifixion *per se*, stands out as a carefully calculated scheme of iconography that is excessive in its vilification of Jews and, I will argue, was designed to incite religious hatred **(Figs. 32-33)**.[75] To this extent, it exceeds the intention of any of the images discussed so far. This purpose must not be consigned to the past as if it no longer poses a threat for the Cloisters Cross is more an agent of antagonism than a devotional aid and images cast long shadows. In an article entitled: '*It's as if Hitler and Michelangelo Hitler got together to make this thing*' Julian Borger quoted Thomas Hoving, by whose efforts the acquisition of the Cross for the Cloisters Museum was successful. Borger quoted Hoving's reluctance to tell all he knew about the Cross for fear that it would offend:

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[75] The Metropolitan Museum of Art. The Cloisters Collection, 1963, 63.12.

> I just kept quiet. I really didn't tell anyone what I knew. This is New York and we have a lot of Jewish sponsors. I had to suppress its ugly message.[76]

Hoving collaborated with Ante Topić Mimara, a Hungarian collector and dealer, who died in 1987 and with him went ascertainable proof of his legal ownership. Who made the Cross, for whom, when and why are general questions applied to any artefact but they cannot be satisfactorily answered, even by professional art historians. It is possible that it was carried in processions although given the minute scale of the figures and the inscriptions, the viewer would have had difficulty seeing them from a distance. Had it been intended as an altar cross, one half would be unseen by the celebrant and (or) the congregation. The preciousness of the ivory, its very good condition (with few breakages) suggests that the Cross was handled with care, probably on very special occasions but what these were is not known. Microscopic analysis indicates the use of at least four colours of applied pigment and, coupled with the natural colouration of the ivory itself, impact on its first viewers must have been staggering.

Patronage and provenance remain unconfirmed.[77] Although nobody is sure of the circumstances surrounding the creation of the Cross a span of 1170-90 is generally accepted as likely.[78] In 1994 the publication of *The Cloisters Cross*: *Its Art and Meaning* by Elizabeth C. Parker and Charles T. Little provided a comprehensive account of the art historical importance of the Cross and it remains an important reference for students although the anti-Semitic emphases of the Cross seem to have been by-passed but will be the focus of the following discussion.

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[76] *The Guardian*, 29.08.2001, pp. 2-3.

[77] For Hoving's picaresque account of his dealings with Topić Mimara, see T. P.F. Hoving, *King of the Confessors*, London, 1981.

[78] Hoving maintains that the Cloisters Cross was made *c.*1181-90 by Master Hugo of Bury St. Edmunds Abbey in Suffolk. Hoving's justification is examined briefly below.

Attached to the shaft and arms of the front of the Cross are the remains of a tree, its branches cut roughly to the trunk; the absence of sprig and leaf immediately conveys the bleakness that is intrinsic to the Cross. When the Cross was acquired by the Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1963 the *corpus* was missing. In 1970 one that is regarded by some to be its original was located in the Kunstindustrimuseet, Oslo although its affiliation has not reached a consensus and remains a contentious issue **(Fig. 34)**.[79] One other element of the Cross whose affinity to it has been discussed extensively is the Caiaphas plaque.[80]

The Cross is replete with figures (92) and inscriptions (98) in Greek, Latin and pseudo-Hebrew. Many figures express hostility towards the Jews in a way that is unprecedented for its time. Situated prominently in the medallion at the crossing on the back of the Cross, *Synagoga* thrusts her spear into the breast of the Lamb and is the focus of attention at this stage to be followed by an exploration of the most salient details of the remainder of the scenes and inscriptions to better understand the enmity she embodies (**Fig. 35)**. The Cloisters setting is the only one I know where *Synagoga* turns her back while she 'kills' the Lamb. The scene emphasises *Synagoga*'s refusal to acknowledge Christ and how she harms him without even having to look at what she is doing. An inscribed banner held by *Synagoga* reads: *Maledictus omnis qui pendet in ligno*. [81] The Lamb rears his front legs and turns his head away from his assailant. John weeps; *Et ego flebam multum*.[82] An angel responds, '*Vide ne fleveris*

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[79] Parker and Little, *Cloisters Cross*, Appendix II, pp. 253-260.
[80] For a discussion of the Caiphas plaque's affinity to the Cross, see B. R. Jones, 'A reconsideration of the Cloisters Ivory Cross with the Caiaphas Plaque Restored to its Base,' *Gesta*, 30 (1991), pp. 65-88.
[81] Translation: Utterly cursed is he that is hanged on a tree, Deuteronomy, 21.23. The only form of capital punishment permitted in Jewish law was that of stoning. See M. Jastrow and S. Mendelson, 'Capital Punishment,' *Jewish Encyclopaedia*, 3 New York and London, 1901, pp. 554-558,
[82] Translation: And I wept much, Revelation, 5.4.

Dignus est Agnus, *qui occisus est*, *accipere virtutem*, *et divinitatem*.[83] The angel looks towards an unidentified cowled figure whose mouth is open and whose left hand is clenched in a fist as if to strike. Hoving made a bold assertion for the identity of the cowled figure:

> With a magnifying glass I studied the hooded figure. It seemed that the ivory from which it was carved was a separate piece. I decided to perform minor surgery. With a scalpel in hand, working gingerly, I chipped away some restoration material, probably applied by Topić, and saw to my delight that the pugilist *was* a separate piece, cleverly inserted into the Lamb medallion…who else could it be but Samson.[84]

Pointing vehemently to the word *divinitatem*, to emphasise the divinity of the Lamb, the angel warns *Synagoga* but to no avail.

Representations of *Synagoga* spearing the Lamb are not common at least among what is known. One manuscript example is in what remains of the Noyon Missal **(Fig. 36)**.[85] The Gospel Book of Henry the Lion, Duke of Saxony also includes the subject on fol. 170*v* **(Fig. 37)**.[86] The scene is divided into two registers: the Crucifixion the lower, the Scourging at the Pillar, above. The lower register is the main concern. *Synagoga* turns her back on Christ. Her crown has been displaced recalling Lamentations, 5.16: ‘The crown has fallen from our head. Woe to us, because we have sinned.’ In *Synagoga*’s right hand is a spear with which she attempts to stab the Lamb in the bottom right-hand corner, close to Melchizedek. The

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[83] Translation: See that you do not weep; The Lamb that was slain is worthy to receive power and divinity, Revelation, 5.12.

[84] Hoving, *King of Confessors*, p.319. Parker and Little are among the scholars who refute Hoving’s claim: ‘The segment on which the figure is carved was inserted at the time the cross was executed, not later, as Hoving assumed’ *Cloisters Cross*, p.267, n.100. Difference of opinion like this is fairly typical of the kind of argumentation that accompanied the study of the Cross when it was published. Hoving’s ‘delight’ is undoubtedly wishful thinking: the effect of his determination to ascribe the Cross to Bury St. Edmunds Abbey.

[85] *c*. 1250, Harvard College Library, D. E. Miner, Illuminated *Books of the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, Walters Art Gallery Exhibition Catalogue, Baltimore, 1949, Plate 24.

[86] Helmarshausen Abbey, *c*.1173-1175. Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel, fol. 107 *v*. For a concise account of this and other aspects of Henry’s patronage, see P. M. de Winter, *The Sacral Treasure of the Guelphs*, Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland, Ohio, 1985.

Lamb looks up at John who holds his head in his right hand and looks at Christ; in his left hand is his gospel. In *Synagoga*'s left hand is a scroll inscribed *Maledictus omnis qui pendet in ligno*, just as in the Cloisters Cross scene and of which more is noted below. At each corner is an Old Testament character; at top left, David, at top right, Jeremiah, bottom left, Abel and at right, Melchizedek, King, Prophet, Servant and Priest all of which are titles of Christ who is enclosed by them.

The political and patronal achievements of Henry the Lion were immensely significant during the twelfth century. Henry was a member of the Guelph family and owned vast stretches of land in and around the Baltic Sea. In 1168 Henry married into the Plantagenet dynasty: Matilda, eldest daughter of Henry II of England. Henry's pilgrimage to the Holy Land secured not only a supply of sacred relics but also gifts that were masterpieces of Byzantine craftsmanship. Nearer home, in around the Meuse valley in what is now Belgium, other artists, particularly metalworkers were inspired to create ecclesiastical vessels, patronised by the Guelph family. There is no doubt surrounding the patronal power and wealth of Henry the Lion during his life and to which the sale of his Gospel Book in 1983 by Sotheby's stands witness: over £8 million.[87]

The Cloisters Cross *Synagoga* medallion and the Crucifixion in Henry the Lion's Gospel Book share similarities. Both examples have the *Maledictus* verse, both portray *Synagoga* 'killing' the Lamb and in both cases, the Lamb looks up: in the Cloisters example, to the angel, in the Gospel of Henry the Lion, to John. Further, in the Crucifixion images discussed here only that of Henry the Lion includes the scene of Christ's Scourging. Indeed, the Scourging is a relatively rare element of

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[87] *The Gospels of Henry the Lion*, *Count of Saxony*, *Duke of Bavaria*, Sotheby Parke Bernet & Co, London, 1983.

Crucifixion imagery but one that might be suggested by patrons as a spur to anti-Jewish animus. That this is so of the Cloisters Cross is unquestioned although scourging was carried out by Romans and not Jews, but it was Jews who brought Christ to the Romans and would be sufficient to impute this aspect of Christ's suffering to them. (Matthew, 27, 26, Mark, 15.15, John, 19.1). Finally, the cost of production is an important aspect. Henry the Lion's wealth appears to have had no limit and whoever financed the production of the Cloisters Cross had sufficient funds to recompense a highly-skilled ivory carver. That both were paid from the same Baltic source is not beyond imagination, only proof.

One other unique aspect of the Cloisters Cross is that it is the only representation of the Crucifixion discussed here that does not include *Ecclesia* and her absence intensifies the sense of desolation imparted by the Cross. It is as if the designer wished to show that without *Ecclesia*'s intervention, the blood of the Redeemer is not saved. Hence the representation of *Synagoga* and the Lamb is a unique aspect of Crucifixion imagery and one whereby hostility to Jews is manifested with greater revilement than other representations of the Crucifixion, at least for those informed viewers who could fathom the its mysteries.

Although the symbols of the evangelists and the Lamb are frequently represented on crosses (for example, the Monmouth Crucifix), *Synagoga*'s appearance with the evangelists' symbols and the Lamb renders the Cloisters' example a very complex scene.[88] John the Baptist hailed Jesus as 'the Lamb of God you who take away the sin of the world' so the connection between the Lamb and the

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[88] The Monmouth Crucifix, Church of St. Mary, Monmouth, 1170-80, Parker and Little, *Cloisters Cross*, illus. 95. See also the reverse of the Mathilda Crucifix, Essen Minster Treasury, *c.*973 and 982 and the reverse of the Ferdinand and Sancha crucifix, Museo Arqueológico Nacional, Madrid, also in Parker and Little *Cloisters Cross*, illus. 117 and 120.

forgiveness of sin was very familiar (John, 1.29, 36). The Cloisters Cross *Synagoga* represents those Jews who did not believe that Jesus had the power to take away sin. In the narrative of the cure of the paralytic, some Jews believed that such a claim was blasphemous and, in Levitical law (Leviticus, 24.16) punishable by death (Matthew, 9.1-8, Mark, 2.1-12, Luke 5, 17-26).

Representations of the Lamb sometimes appear on patens and ciboria, as is so of the ciboria discussed in the section on Worcester chapterhouse. The Lamb is at the centre of the paten of Hubert Walter (Archbishop of Canterbury, 1193-1205) and is surrounded by an inscription: *Agnus Dei*, *qui tollis peccata mundi*, *Miserere nobis*.[89] The Lamb on Walter's paten is unlike that on the Cloisters Cross in that it is has a cruciform standard, a symbolic expression of Christ's victory over death at the Resurrection. Sometimes too the Lamb is shown unsealing the Book as narrated in Revelation, Chapter five. The Cloisters Lamb is vulnerable without *Ecclesia*. Thus its 'death' at the hands of *Synagoga* is the more poignant and the potential to agitate hatred of those she represents is considerable.[90] Whereas the scene presents compelling evidence of *Synagoga*'s guilt, it is the culmination of a process that begins at the bottom of the front of the Cross: the trial of Christ before the High Priest, Caiaphas. Relative to other aspects of the Passion the Trial is a rare subject in medieval art. The Trial is included in the Cloisters Cross because it is a reminder of the suffering of Christ at the hands of those present and it adds to the centuries-old accumulation of Jewish guilt.

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[89] Translation: Lamb of God, you who take away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us.

[90] Images of *Synagoga* killing the Lamb may have encouraged the charge of host desecration that was sometimes brought against Jews particularly during the thirteenth century. Typically, a Jew would procure a consecrated host in order to see if it was the body of Christ, as Christians believed. The Jew would bribe a Christian (often a woman) and once in his possession, the Jew would stab the host. The host would bleed and the Jew would either be convinced and convert or, more usually, be put to death. Other accounts would involve burning the host. See especially M. Rubin, *Gentile Tales*: *the Narrative Assault on late Medieval Jews*, New Haven and London, 1999.

The Trial is recorded by the synoptics and by John who variously describe how Jesus was taken first to Ananias then to Caiaphas to answer to a charge of blasphemy (Matthew, 26.57-68, Mark, 14.53-65, Luke 22.63-71, John, 18.12-24). Jesus is surrounded by the whole Sanhedrin and 'several lying witnesses' and is mocked and derided. In Luke's account Jews blindfold Jesus to test whether his prophetic powers would enable him to tell who hit him: a guessing game, played for a laugh. The Jews shout 'Prophesy,' Jesus remains silent, but between the lines of the evangelists' accounts Isaiah speaks:

> He was despised, the lowest of men, a man of sorrows, familiar with suffering. One from whom we averted our gaze, despised, for whom we had no regard. Yet ours were the sufferings he was bearing, ours the sorrows he was carrying, while we thought of him as someone punished and struck with affliction by God: whereas he was being wounded for our rebellions, crushed because of our guilt (Isaiah, 53.3-5).

The plaque portrays Christ with haloed head slumped by the force of a guard's fist. There is no doubt that the guard is a Jew from the *judenhut* and although size and shape might vary, the height of this *judenhut* is exaggerated. In front of Christ is a soldier with lance extended. To the soldier's left is Caiaphas enthroned; he looks towards Christ and to a single inscription: *Prophetiza*, Prophesy! Such was the jeering of the Jews surrounding Christ before they lead him to Pilate for only he could legally pass sentence.

Directly above the base plaque are the stocky figures of Adam and Eve. Eve's exposed breasts sag and her arms stretch as she struggles to reach the stump of a branch so that she might use it to reach Christ. Adam clings to the Tree, the source of his salvation. Christ's death atoned for Adam's sin and those of all mankind. And whereas the gospels record that when Christ died graves opened and the dead emerged, apart from Adam and Eve no others are visible here which adds to the desolation of the imagery. Several of the inscriptions contribute to this impression because they recall and manipulate events in Jewish scripture in ways that intensify the persistence of the age-old antagonism between Christians and Jews which would always be revived by the makers of this cross and all others who subscribed to it.

The most significant of the inscriptions (because they are larger and occupy the greatest space) are those in capital letters situated on the sides and front of the shaft above Adam and Eve: *TERRA TREMIT*, *MORS VICTA GEMIT SURGENTE SEPULTO VITA CLUIT*; *SYNAGOGA RUIT MOLIMINE STULTO.*[91] CHAM RIDET DUM NUDA VIDET PUDIBUNDA PARENTIS JUDEI RISERE DEI PENAM MOR [IENTIS].[92] The *TERRA TREMIT* verse combines history and exegesis. The evangelists variously describe how the earth quaked and how darkness descended at the time of Christ's death. The veil of the Sanctuary was torn in two and the dead rose from their graves. The inscription, *Synagoga Ruit Molimine Stulto* is a comment on the significance of Christ's death for the unbelieving Jews.

Synagoga represents the Temple, a man-made edifice whose inner sanctum was accessible only to the High Priest on the Day of Atonement. In John's Gospel Christ referred to the Temple as his body: 'destroy this Temple, and in three days I will raise it up' (John, 2.19). The *Synagoga Ruit* inscription is not biblical but it affirms the futility of the Temple in relation to the temple that is the body of Christ. Although buried, Christ will be brought back to life. 'And when Jesus rose from the

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[91] Translation: The earth trembles, with the buried one rising. Death defeated groans. Life has been called; Synagogue has collapsed with great foolish effort. These and all following translations follow Parker and Little, *Cloisters Cross*, 1994.

[92] Translation: Cham laughed when he saw the shameful nakedness of his parent; the Jews laughed at the pain of the dying God.

dead, his disciples remembered that he had said this, and they believed the scriptures, and what he had said' (John, 2.21-2). *Synagoga* did not believe.

The *CHAM RIDET* inscription is the most vitriolic of the anti-Jewish statements. While the origin of the verse cannot be ascertained it is indebted to the account of Noah's drunkenness in Genesis 9.21-29 and from Augustine's exegesis in *The City of God* and *Contra Faustum*:

> Noah…was the first to plant the vine. He drank some of the wine, and while he was drunk, he lay uncovered in his tent. Ham, one of Noah's sons saw his naked father in his tent and invited his two brothers to look but they declined, covering Noah instead. When sober, Noah learned of Ham's disrespect and cursed Ham's son, Canaan: Accursed be Canaan, he shall be his brothers' meanest slave.[93]
>
> Again, the sufferings of Christ from His own nation are evidently denoted by Noah being drunk with the wine of the vineyard he planted, and his being uncovered in his tent. For the mortality of Christ's flesh was uncovered, to the Jews a stumbling-block, and to the Greeks foolishness; but to them that are called, both Jews and Greeks, both Shem and Japhet, the power of God and the wisdom of God. Because the foolishness of God is wiser than men, and the weakness of God is stronger than men. Moreover, the two sons, the eldest and the youngest, carrying the garment backwards, are a figure of the two peoples and the sacrament of the past and completed passions of the Lord. They do not see the nakedness of their father, because they do not consent to Christ's death; and yet they honour it with a covering, as knowing whence they were born. The middle son is the Jewish people, for they neither held the first place with the apostles, nor believed subsequently with the Gentiles. They saw the nakedness of their father, because they consented to Christ's death; and they told it to their brethren outside, for what was hidden in the prophets was disclosed by the Jews. And thus they are the servants of their brethren.[94]

The frequency of the Brazen Serpent as a type of the Crucifixion is by now familiar. Its importance on the Cloisters Cross is confirmed by its site: it occupies a medallion at the centre of the front of the Cross; its censure of Jews is unrelenting. The scene is a particularly potent reminder of the past and its realisation in the present

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[93] Augustine, *City*, Book 16, Chapters 1-3, pp. 653-6.

[94] Augustine, *Contra Faustum*, Chapter 12, 23, http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/140612.htm.

for it recalls John’s gospel, 3.14. Here, Christ acknowledged the ‘event’ of the Brazen Serpent in one of his discussions with Nicodemus, the disciple who came to Jesus by night *Sicut Moyses exaltavit serpentum* is inscribed on the scroll of the figure of John the Evangelist whose neck cranes to see the wriggling snake **(Fig. 38)**.[95]

The association of healing and the serpent is clear. The Israelites who looked up to the serpent in the desert were healed and so also are they who look upon Christ on the Cross, and believe. But *Synagoga* does not believe and thus she will not have eternal life. The author of Wisdom clarified the relevance of the Brazen Serpent: ‘whoever turned to it was saved, not by what he looked at, but by you, the Saviour of all’ (Wisdom, 16.6). So of itself, the Brazen Serpent was powerless: it was faith that saved; faith unknown to *Synagoga*. And as was surely the intention of the designers of the Cross, the scene is linked to Adam and Eve at the foot of the Cross. The serpent’s enticement was the first determinant of their expulsion but the raising of the serpent in the wilderness: Christ’s death, won them eternal life.

Seventeen figures (in some instances just the heads) are crammed in and around the Moses medallion, two of which are of supporting angels. In addition to that already mentioned, the inscriptions held by four of the figures enhance and support the scene. Moses, the figure in the centre speaks a verse from Deuteronomy (28.66), ‘*Et erit vita tua quasi pendens ante te… et non credes vitae tuae*.’ [96] Informed viewers would have been familiar with the context for this verse: it is one of many adversities that would follow Israel if the word of Yahweh were ignored. Yahweh would confuse even the seemingly certain aspects of life: nothing could be

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[95] Translation: As Moses lifted up the snake in the desert (so must the Son of Man be lifted up), John, 3.14.

[96] Translation: And thy life shall be as it were hanging before thee; neither shall thou trust thy life, Deuteronomy, 28.66.

taken for granted. That ‘life shall be hanging before thee,’ is another typological reference to the Crucifixion, and it is evident that the designer allowed for more than one interpretation and more than one association to be made from this and the remaining inscriptions.

Imagery of wine and vineyards is familiar in both Testaments. Isaiah chapter 5.1-7 gives details of how Yahweh planted and nurtured a vineyard and gave it all it needed to thrive. The vineyard was the House of Israel and the people of Judah the plants he cherished. Despite care and attention, they did not thrive. Nor do the Jews, for whatever help is given to them they remain unfaithful. Other prophets contributed to the theme: ‘Yet I had planted you, a red vine of completely sound stock. How is it you have turned into seedlings of a vine that is alien to me?’(Jeremiah, 2.21).[97] In the New Testament, Jesus uses vineyard imagery in the Parable of the Wicked Husbandmen (the Jews) who not only killed the servants of the owner of the vineyard (God) but also his son, Jesus (Matthew 21.33-44).[98] Such vivid and memorable imagery of the Jews’ flagrancy pervades Old and New Testaments. The Cloisters Cross selects those incidents to perpetuate allegations of the Jews’ evil intentions.

Opposite Isaiah is Peter. Peter affirms Christ’s relationship to the Prophets: ‘*Huic omnes Prophetae testimonium perhibent*.’[99] Although the prophets were all aware of the coming of Christ, their revelations have been rejected. Jeremiah looks over the scene of Moses and the Brazen Serpent: his body spans the top of the medallion and he asks *Quare futurus es velut vagus fortis qui non potest salvare*?[100] Jeremiah’s question was prompted by the great drought that beset Israel (during the

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[97] See also, Jeremiah, 5.10, 6.10, 12.10, Ezekiel, 15.1-8, 17.3-10, 19.10-14, Ps.18.8-18, Isaiah, 27.2-5.
[98] See also Mark, 12.1-12, Luke, 29.9-16.
[99] Translation: To him all the prophets give testimony, Acts of the Apostles, 10.43.
[100] Translation: Why wilt thou be as a wandering man, a mighty man that cannot save? Jeremiah, 14.9.

reign of King Jehoaikim) when it seemed that Yahweh was powerless.[101] Then 'even the doe in the countryside giving birth abandons her young, for there is no grass.' This grim reminder of desolation is a cue for Jeremiah's awareness of Israel's culpability: 'our sins witness against us…yes, our acts of infidelity have been many' but he asks Yahweh to help and not to be as a stranger to the suffering of his people, not to abandon them in their distress. Yet when the remainder of the conversation between Yahweh and Jeremiah is considered (as viewers would) it is apparent that Yahweh has become tired of Jeremiah's pleas for the Israelites: 'do not intercede for this people or their welfare. If they fast, I will not listen, I will not listen to their plea…I will make an end of them by sword, famine and plague' (Jeremiah, 14.11-12). Here again it is evident that the selective assimilation of Jewish scripture provides further evidence of how the designers of the Cross singled out verses that would remind users of Yahweh's anger with his people, the Jews.

Above Jeremiah the, *Dextra Dei* protrudes from a 'cloud' and surrounding it is the *titulus*: displaying the crime of the condemned which was mandatory under Roman rule (Matthew, 27.37, Mark,15.26, Luke, 23.38, John,19.19-22). In almost every Crucifixion scene, the *titulus* is; *Iesus Nazarenus Rex Iudaeorum* (often abbreviated *INRI*). The (translated) *titulus* on the Cloister Cross is, 'Jesus of Nazareth, the King of the Confessors.' This is a rare but not unique rendering of the *titulus* and has been the cause of much debate. Hoving argues that the unusual *titulus* 'King of the Confessors' linked the Cross to Bury St. Edmunds and a twelfth-century glossed

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[101] Recall how Baal, the god of fertility could influence the weather. In times of drought, Israel was tempted to turn to Baal instead of Yahweh, hence, her infidelity.

gospel of Saint Mark from the Abbey which also has '*Confessorum*' (Pembroke College, Cambridge, Ms. 72, fol. 62, *r*.).[102]

However, as Sabrina Longland notes, the origin of the gloss is not Bury St. Edmunds but most likely from a commentary written *c*.632 C.E. by Cummean, an Irish monk and was later widely circulated in copies of the *Glossa Ordinaria*, a standard corpus of commentaries, and a virtual textbook for monastic libraries.[103] The *Hortus Deliciarum* Crucifixion miniature (fol.150, *r*.) is a further source of 'Confessors.' Next to the *titulus* (*Jhesus Nazarenus Rex Judeorum*) is *Jhesus Rex Judeorum*, *id est Rex confessorum*. Other sources of 'Confessors' are given by Longland. While the *titulus* on the Cross is exceptional it may simply be a reflection of Christ's priestly duty of listening to his followers or of Paul's exhortation: 'every tongue should confess that the Lord Jesus Christ is in the glory of God the Father' in which case all who believe in Christ are confessors (Philippians, 2.11).

More significant is that the *titulus* is challenged by Caiaphas and defended by Pilate. Relative to the *titulus* the challenge is very rarely included in Crucifixion imagery.[104] The scene of Caiaphas and Pilate recalls a key moment in the hours leading to the Crucifixion. Only John witnessed the Crucifixion and only he recorded the contentious response to the *titulus*. Caiaphas, with exaggerated *judenhut* and very lengthy beard appeals to Pilate; '*Noli scribere*, *Rex Judaeorum sed quia dixit*: *Rex sum Judaeorum*.[105] Pilate is resolute: *Quod scripsi*, *scripsi*.[106] Pilate has no intention

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[102] T.P.F. Hoving, 'The Bury St Edmunds Cross,' *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, 22 (1964), pp. 317-340.

[103] S. Longland, 'The Bury St Edmund Cross its exceptional Place in English twelfth-century Art,' *Connoisseur*, 172 (1969), pp. 163-73, at p. 168.

[104] See S. Longland, 'The Bury St. Edmund Cross,' *Metropolitan Museum Journal*, 2 (1969), pp. 45-74.

[105] Translation: Write not, the King of the Jews: but that he said, I am the King of the Jews, John, 19.21.

[106] Translation: What I have written I have written, John, 19.22.

of indulging the Jews' purpose; his tacit agreement with the wording intensifies the sense of the Jews as working on their own and determined by all means available to secure the death penalty for Christ.[107]

Divided between the shaft and arms of the back of the Cross are eighteen prophets, each of whom carries a scroll inscribed with verses from their respective prophecies; the scrolls weave between the figures effectively linking one to the other.[108] Some of their inscriptions still have the potential to provoke enmity of Jews ('the Jews laugh at the pain of dying God'). The symbols of the evangelists John, Luke and Mark are situated at the terminals, surrounding their forebears effecting a conclusion to the show of Christian strength. The alliance of prophets and evangelists was discussed in Chapter 2 where the concept of the 'harmony of the testaments' was explored. The arrangement of prophets and evangelists on the Cloisters Cross also supports a theme of mutual correspondence. The prophets speak of the coming of Christ on the shaft and arms of the Cross; Christ's ministry was committed to writing by the evangelists at its terminals. Brief reference to some of the prophets' inscriptions will clarify this.

Towards the bottom of the shaft Ezekiel holds a scroll with an inscription; *fili hominis*, *ecce data sunt super te vincula, et ligabunt te in eis*.[109] Ezekiel's inscription indicates a state of silence: he will not be allowed speak on behalf of Yahweh for a

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[107] Among those scholars cited here, there is disagreement about the extent to which artists themselves recalled the dispute between Pilate and Caiphas. S. Longland maintains 'it [Caiphas's challenge] is almost never represented,' while E. K. Sass is adamant that, 'during the late Middle Ages the theme became downright popular,' but she concedes that the Cloisters Cross is the earliest known example. See S. Longland, 'Pilate answered, ''what I have Written I have Written,''' *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, 26 (1968), pp. 410-428 at p. 410 and E. K. Sass, 'Pilate and the Title for Christ's Cross,' 'Medieval Representations of Golgotha,' *Copenhagen Papers in the History of Art*, 1 (1972), pp. 5-67 at p. 5.

[108] Jonah is missing from the bottom.

[109] Translation: Son of man, behold they shall put bands upon thee, and they shall bind thee with them, Ezekiel, 3.25.

period of time. But Ezekiel's verse also prefigures what will happen to Jesus when he is betrayed: he is bound; his voice is silenced until his death when all Jerusalem will know that he was not only a son of man but the Son of God. Joel's inscription is: *Et Dominus de Jerusalem dabit vocem suam*: *et movebuntur coeli et terra*.[110] Joel's verse is taken from a passage that refers to the spirit of God and how it will be poured out on all people when the Judgement Day of Yahweh is at hand, a day that will deliver Israel from her oppressors. That 'the heavens and the earth shall be moved' also relates to the Crucifixion when, as recorded by the evangelists, the earth quaked and the sky grew dark.

Isaiah's scroll refers to Christ's willingness to be sacrificed: *Oblatus est quia ipse voluit*.[111] As is the case with all the prophets' inscriptions, the context for their verses would have made familiar reading. As noted, in Isaiah, chapter 53 the prophet speaks of the Suffering Servant and how 'he was crushed for our guilt.' 'He never opened his mouth, like a lamb led to the slaughter-house, like a sheep dumb before its shearers he never opened his mouth' (Isaiah, 53.7). Matthew 27.14 appropriates Isaiah's account. When Jesus was accused by the chief priest and the elders he refused to defend himself. To Pilate's amazement, 'he offered not a word in answer to any of the charges.' Similarly, the verse, 'he was given a grave with the wicked, and his tomb is with the rich' (Isaiah, 53.9). The evangelists' account of the two criminals who died with Christ, and the tomb provided by a secret disciples of Jesus, the rich man, Joseph of Arimathaea also fulfil Isaiah, 53.[112]

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[110] Translation: And the Lord shall utter his voice from Jerusalem: and the heavens and the earth shall be moved, Joel 3.16.

[111] Translation: He was offered because it was his own free will, Isaiah, 53.7.

[112] Matthew, 27.57, Mark, 15.43, Luke, 23.50, John, 19.38.

The account of the Cloisters Cross as an agent of anti-Semitism has described and interpreted the most offensive attitudes to Jews and Judaism but is far from comprehensive. Indeed, the subject is one aspect of the dissertation that would benefit from further study in the future. The portrayal of *Synagoga* presents incontrovertible evidence of Jewish guilt in the Passion and death of Christ but as has been demonstrated, *Synagoga*'s role was amplified by inscriptions, carefully selected to support her action. To what extent (if at all) the Cloisters Cross was made available to other than those responsible for its creation it is impossible to say. But given its size, portability and unrivalled capacity for creating anti-Jewish animus it is unlikely to have had limited circulation in a persecuting society.

The Stammheim Missal

The Stammheim Missal was produced in the scriptorium of St. Michael's Abbey in Hildesheim 'probably during the1170's'.[113] St. Michaels's was founded by Bishop Bernward, a renowned and influential patron of art.[114] Bernward commissioned numerous works and following his death in 1022, the archbishop of Mainz allowed the monks to venerate Bernward as a saint albeit within the confines of the monastery.[115] Bernward's portrait appears on fol. 156*r*. The Stammheim Missal is attributed to several scribes, but to (probably) only one illuminator. The Missal is still in excellent condition which suggests that it was used with great care by few celebrants.[116] But for those who did use it, the Stammheim Missal Crucifixion

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[113] E. C.Teviotdale, *The Stammheim Missal*, Los Angeles, 2001, p.1.

[114] J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, Ms. 64. Stammheim is the name of the home of the Von Furstenberg family home near Cologne who gave the missal to the Getty Museum in 1997. I am grateful to E. C. Teviotdale who has provided a copy of her transcriptions.

[115] E. C. Teviotdale, 'The Pictorial Program of the Stammheim Missal,' in, C. Hourihane (ed.), *Objects, Images and the Word*: *Art in the Service of the Liturgy*, Princeton, New Jersey, 2003, pp. 79-93.

[116] This is not to suggest that this limited audience was without influence beyond the cloister. Envious accounts of sumptuous manuscripts in monastic scriptoria travelled far in the mouths of visitors, many of whom had the means to patronise the production of similar treasures. As noted in Chapter 2, Suger

miniature reinforced the belief that the events of the New Testament were anticipated in the Old. Moreover, the hostility to Jews that was typical of the Cloisters Cross inscriptions is continued in the Missal albeit less venomously.

The Crucifixion is on folio 86*r* opposite Christ in Majesty **(Fig. 39)**. The scene is divided into three unequal registers, the lowest of which portrays three haloed figures. On the left is Isaiah who holds a scroll inscribed *Quare rubrum est vestimentum tuum*.[117] This mysterious question forms part of the dialogue between Isaiah and Yahweh at the beginning of Isaiah, Chapter 63. Yahweh's garments are red because he has become bloodied fighting Israel's enemies alone. In the centre, a young man treads grapes in a winepress. The inscription on his scroll responds to Isaiah's question: *Torcular calcavIsolus*.[118] So is it with Christ, for his disciples who were almost all Jews abandoned him when he was most in need of support. Although the figure to the right of the winepress lacks any visual clue to his identity, his inscription: *Induit Dominus fortitudine & praecinxit se* is the beginning of Psalm 93.[119] It has been suggested that this is the way the designer of the miniature thought best to introduce King David, putative author of the Psalms.[120]

An unusual arrangement for *Ecclesia* and *Synagoga* is that they occupy the place above the arms of the Cross, close to sun and moon thus associating them with Augustine's notion of the greater and the lesser lights. Longinus and Stephaton stand beneath the arms of the Cross: the Stammheim illuminator provides historical correctness as well as exegesis so (as always in Crucifixion imagery) Longinus and

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quizzed pilgrims who had been to Hagia Sophia: he wanted to know if the liturgical ornaments at St-Denis could compare with those there.

[117] Translation: Why is your robe red? ('Your clothes like someone treading the winepress, Isaiah, 63.3).

[118] Translation: I have trodden the winepress alone Isaiah, 63.2,3.

[119] Translation: The lord is clothed in strength and has girded himself, Psalms 93.1

[120] Teviotdale, *Stammheim Missal*, p. 65.

Stephaton are portrayed as witnesses to the event while *Synagoga* and *Ecclesia* provide an exegetical commentary. Stephaton is conspicuous in that he wears a very short tunic of green that leaves much of his legs exposed possibly intended to indicate rudeness and a lack of respect to be expected of those who mocked Christ. Certainly when contrasted with the robe worn by Longinus, Stephaton's dress appears to be slovenly. Longinus and the youth trampling the grapes wear red and the sharing of colours links them with the blood of Christ. John also wears red. Both he and Mary are situated to the extremes of the composition. The Phrygian hat worn by Longinus alludes to the idea of freedom.[121] Conversely, Synagoga's *judenhut* distinguishes her as a contemporary Jew who still bears responsibility for the death of Christ.

A distinguishing feature of the miniatures in the Stammheim Missal is the frequency of inscribed scrolls in the hands of the figures so that they can communicate between each other and with the viewer. *Synagoga* 'speaks' to *Ecclesia*: *Maledictus omnis qui pendet in ligno*. *Ecclesia* replies in the words of St.Paul: *Xristus nos redemit de maledicto legis*.[122] Paul explained, 'Christ redeemed us from the curse of the Law by being cursed for our sake since scripture says: anyone hanged is accursed, so that the blessings of Abraham might come to the gentiles in Jesus Christ, and so that we might receive the promised Spirit through faith.' The New Law invoked blessings, not curses. *Synagoga* and *Ecclesia* 'speak' to each other in terms that define them as representatives of the First and Second Covenants so the celebrant is reminded that what had been a sin in the First Covenant was atoned for in the Second.

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[121] Warner, *Monuments*, especially pp. 273-277.
[122] Translation: Christ redeemed us from the curse of the Law Paul, Galatians, 3.14.

The message of the scroll across the body of Christ, *O Mors ero Mors…*recalls the prophecy of Hosea 13.14, 'O death I will be thy death' and above, the scroll across the body of God reads '*Inveni in quo homini propicier*' which recalls Job, 33.24 ' I have found wherein I may be merciful to man.' Christ's triumph over death is witnessed by a youthful *Vita* to his right while on his left the hideous, hooked-nosed *Mors* stares up at *Synagoga*, linking her to death and destruction while *Ecclesia* has the promise of eternal life through the saving blood of the Eucharist.

Notwithstanding the earlier comment regarding the uniqueness of the Cloisters Cross, the Stammheim Missal Crucifixion scene is related to it albeit in a limited sense. Both the Cross and the Missal share some inscriptions. Both have the *maledictus* verse although it is a relatively common feature of words allocated to *Synagoga* in Crucifixion imagery. More significant is that Cloisters inscriptions and those of the Stammheim Crucifixion include the two verses from Isaiah: *Quare rubrum* and *Torcular calcavi*.[123] *Torcular calcavi solus*.[124] As observed, these two verses were perceived to have anticipated Christ's suffering and death when, without the support of his followers (of whom Peter denied even that he knew him), Christ suffered and died. A more prosaic observation is that both the Cross and the Missal used very costly materials. Although walrus ivory may not have had the sacred associations of elephant ivory, it was still an expensive medium and in this case was worked by a highly skilled carver. The 118 parchment leaves, the lavish use of gold and silver and different coloured inks that constitute the Stammheim Missal involved the patronage of a very wealthy patron. These commonalities and that of the geographical alliance of the artefacts incline towards a single, very wealthy patron: Henry the Lion.

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[123] Translation: Why is your robe red? Isaiah, 63.3.

[124] Translation: I have trodden the winepress alone, Isaiah, 63.2,3.

More than meets the eye: *Synagoga*'s blindfold

The discussion of the Uta Codex Crucifixion has shown how the partial covering of *Synagoga*'s eyes with a band might be interpreted. Ideas surrounding *Synagoga*'s veil have also been discussed in relation to Moses and to the Temple. *Synagoga*'s blindfold is another matter. Ostensibly the purpose of a blindfold is to prevent an otherwise sighted person from seeing: Luke 22.64: 'and they blindfolded him and smote his face. And they asked him, saying: Prophesy: Who is it that struck thee?'[125] This mocking was, in part, a recollection of Isaiah, 53.3-5 which Christians believe closely anticipates Christ's torment and suffering at the hands of his enemies and was discussed in the section on the Cloisters Cross.

Synagoga's blindfold articulates condemnation, not affliction. Although sometimes explained as a symbol of *Synagoga*'s 'blindness,' the blindfold also relates to darkness, to night and to guilt. There is no sympathy for *Synagoga* in the sense that there is for the man born blind in John, Chapter 9. The disciples questioned the cause of the blindness: 'Rabbi, who sinned, this man or his parents, that he should have been born blind?' The notion of the sins of the fathers visiting the children was ancient. 'I punish a parent's fault in the children, the grandchildren and the great-grandchildren,' (Exodus, 20.5, 34.7). Christ explained that the man 'was born blind so that the works of God might be revealed in him' (John, 9.3). The response of a number of Pharisees was one of condemnation of both Christ and the blind man and they censured Christ for healing on the Sabbath.[126]

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[125] The earliest attribution of the blindfold to Christ is seen in The St. Albans Psalter. See O. Pächt, C.R.Dodwell and F. Wormald, *The St Albans Psalter* (*Albani Psalter*), London, 1960, p. 90.

[126] Broadly speaking, there were two main Jewish sects at the time of Christ; the Pharisees, including Saul / Paul were ultra conservative; the Sadducees, although still wanting to do things 'by the book,' were more liberal in outlook. John is very hard on 'the Jews' in general; he makes around 65 references

The blind man was fearless even though he did not know what was happening. He accepted Christ's ministration: 'he [Jesus] spat on the ground, made a paste with the spittle, put this over the eyes of the blind man, and said to him, 'go and wash in the Pool of Siloam.' The blind man was unlearned, the Pharisees were not but their apparent bigotry and moral complacency was condemned by Christ: 'if you were blind, you would not be guilty, but since you say, 'we can see,' your guilt remains' (John, 9.41). In other words, physical blindness is not a culpable affliction, but purporting to have understanding and not putting it into practice was reprehensible.

Spiritual blindness also generates obduracy. Saul / Paul was blinded following his persistent persecution of Christ's disciples. His physical blindness was an outward sign of his spiritual decay. Thus, when Ananias was sent to Saul he tells him, 'I have been sent by the Lord Jesus …so that you may recover your sight and be *filled with the Holy Spirit* (emphasis added). It was as though the scales fell away from his eyes and immediately he was able to see again' (Acts, 9.17-18). *Synagoga* is not blind. She refuses to see the meaning of the Incarnation and could see the result of her torment of Christ. Her guilt, like Saul's was indefensible but unlike Saul, *Synagoga* would be portrayed as one whose persecution of Christ would deserve the most severe penalty, the death sentence. These biblical accounts of guilt and blindness were familiar to creators of images of *Synagoga* and influenced how she was represented in Crucifixion imagery.

Aside from the Bible other aspects of 'night' are usefully noted. In Hesiod's *Theogony* Night is closely related to death, doom and distress.[127] As noted in the

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to 'the Jews.' On this and Pharisees and Sadducees, see F. V. Filson, *A New Testament History*: *Study Edition*, London, 1977, pp. 48-53.

[127] Warner, *Monuments*, pp. 70-1.

Worcester chapterhouse discussion Night was sometimes depicted as a blindfold woman. In Crucifixion imagery *Synagoga* is linked to night for she is placed below the moon, the lesser light that is seen only because of that of the sun, beneath which *Ecclesia* is situated. In sermon 75 on the *Song of Songs* Bernard of Clairvaux associates Jews with night: 'I say the world has its nights, but it is almost all night and always plunged in complete darkness. The faithlessness of the Jews, the ignorance of pagans, the perversity of heretics …these are all nights.'[128]

Among the Virtues and Vices represented in the vestibule of the chapter house of Salisbury cathedral are *Fides* and *Infidelitas*, the latter blindfold **(Fig. 40)**.[129] *Fides* is about to hang *Infidelitas* with a rope that extends over a gallows. One of the representations includes a ram next to the blindfold *Infidelitas* and a connection with *Synagoga* is anticipated: *Synagoga*'s infidelity and her dealings with animals for sacrificial purposes were no longer acceptable since Christ has made the supreme sacrifice. These interrelations contribute to the idea that *Synagoga*'s blindfold was associated with guilt and capital punishment, especially with that of hanging.

Jewish attitude to hanging is rooted in Deuteronomy, 21.23 and impinges on the hanging of Haman narrated in the Book of Esther discussed in Chapter 2. When Ahasuerus found Haman on Esther's couch Haman was as good as dead, so they covered his face, *operuerunt faciem ejus* (Esther, 7.8). It is not known what this involved but the narrative shows a connection between guilt and covering the face. Whether this indicates the origin of the use of a blindfold is not clear; neither is the use of the blindfold in executions if it is applied as a final comfort to the condemned.

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[128] Bernard of Clairvaux, *On the Song of Songs*, K. Walsh (trans.), Kalamazoo, 1983, 4, Sermon 75, p. 106.

[129] See R. B. Green, 'Virtues and Vices in the Chapter House Vestibule in Salisbury,' *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 31 (1968), pp. 148-158.

But all the same the idea is worth exploring briefly for connections between criminality and *Synagoga*'s blindfold.

The hanging of Haman is illustrated in the Citeaux Bible **(Fig. 41)**.[130] A wide-eyed Haman faces his executioner and he is not blindfold. But in a miniature of the same subject in Herrad's *Hortus Deliciarum c.*1185 Haman's eyes are covered **(Fig. 42)**. Another scene of the hanging of Haman appears in the initial page to the Book of Esther in the Weingarten Bible, fol 133*v*.[131] In the lowest of five registers narrating the story of Esther, Haman is hanged and has a hood over his face. Perhaps all this suggests is that the artists concerned with these twelfth-century manuscripts had different ideas about how the faces of the condemned should be represented but clearly the blindfold was an option. In the illustrated *Life and Miracles of Saint Edmund*, *King and Martyr*, *c.*1130, eight men sentenced to death for stealing are about to be hanged. Each has a blindfold **(Fig. 43)**.[132] The relationship between blindfolds and guilt indicated by these twelfth-century representations of executions can be extended to *Synagoga*: she is a criminal but unlike Haman or the thieves, she is not put to death. Given what has been said about the relationship between criminality and the blindfold, the following portrayals exemplify *Synagoga*'s guilt for the death

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[130] Dijon, MS. 14, fol. 122*v*, Y. Zaluska, *L 'Enluminure et le Scriptorium de Citeaux au X11e*, *Siècle*, Cîteaux, 1989, pl. XXXIV.

[131] W. Cahn, *Romanesque Bible Illumination*, New York, 1982, pl. 200.

[132] *c.*1130, Bury St. Edmunds Abbey, New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 736 fol.19*v*. Grim as they are the reality of hanging in these images has been minimised. Sometimes death was as a result of strangulation but if the ladder leading to the gallows was removed quickly the condemned would suddenly lose all muscular control: his bowel would empty; his eyes would fall from their sockets. In the later (1249) hanging of Hamo le Stare 'green clay' was used to prevent the eyes coming out. See R.C. Van Caenegem, (ed. for the Selden Society), *English Lawsuits from William I to Richard I*, *2*, *Henry II and Richard I*, London, 1991, p.605. There is a curious paradox here. Jesus used clay to free the eyes; here it is used to contain them. For the drawing of the hanging of Hamo le Stare, see also Henry Summerson, 'Attitudes to Capital Punishment in England, 1200-1350' in, M.Prestwich, R. Britnell and R. Frame (eds.), *Thirteenth Century England VIII*, Woodbridge, 2001, pp. 123-133, and R.F. Hunnisett and J.B. Post (eds.), *Medieval Legal Records*, London, 1978, pp. 31-34.

of Christ. For now the focus will be on some ecclesiastical vessels that portray *Synagoga* blindfold in order to gain a sense of its associations.

His blood be upon us and upon our children (Matthew, 27.24-5).

This verse is exclusive to Matthew's gospel which was written between 80-90 C.E. Matthew recalls Jeremiah 26.15: 'If you put me to death, you will be bringing innocent blood on yourselves...Yahweh has truly sent me to you.' The insertion of the verse is a way of separating Jewish and gentile Christians. Matthew wants to exonerate the latter for the death of Christ. Hence Jewish complicity is insinuated and one way of suggesting this is to imply that *Synagoga* bears responsibility. When Matthew quotes the verse he uses an ancient formula to validate Jews' responsibility for the death of Christ.[133] He does so even though the concept of inherited guilt had been rescinded long before the time of Christ: 'parents may not be put to death for their children' (Deuteronomy, 24.16). Matthew's motive for reviving the old formula seems to be in order to put guilt on the Jews, in perpetuity. Perhaps more than any other assimilation of Hebrew scripture 'his blood be upon us...'accounts for the frequency of images of *Synagoga* in which she is allocated the instruments of Christ's torment: the crown of thorns, the spear, the scourging whips.

Of the many who subscribed to *Synagoga*'s 'guilt,' was Bernard of Clairvaux, who spoke of it in one of his sermons on the *Song of Songs*: 1.5 and incidentally confirmed the familial ties between *Synagoga* and *Ecclesia*.

> My Mother's Sons turned their anger to me. Annas and Caiphas, and Judas Iscariot were sons of the Synagogue; and from the Church's very origin these fought with great bitterness against her, daughter of

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[133] See Leviticus 20, for some ancient usage of the formula.

> the Synagogue though she was, and hanged Jesus, her Founder, on a tree.[134]

A brief discussion of some imagery where *Synagoga*'s 'guilt' is demonstrated by the attribution of the instruments of the Passion is useful at this point.

The Stavelot altar

The Stavelot altar *c.*1160 epitomises the pre-eminence of twelfth-century enamelwork from the Meuse valley **(Fig. 44, 44a)**.[135] The imagery endorses the typological correspondences between the Testaments and promotes the virtues of martyrdom. Around the lid (which projects over the casket) there is an inscription: *QVAM COLIT ECCLESIA CRVX MORS VICTORIA XPistI Per Sanctos PATRES PATRIARCHAS ATQue PROPHETAS ANTE FIGVRATA FVIT ET Prae SIGNIFICATA ET TAMEN HEC CECA NVNDVM CREDIT SYNAGOGA.*[136] Similarly, the projecting shelf at the base has an inscription: *HI QVE SCRIPSERE DOCTORE DeO DIDICERE HORVM FIRMATA PLAGIS ET MORTE ProBATA ET CELEBRATA SIMVL HORVM DIVINITVS ORE ISTORVm Que PIO PARITER SANCTITA CRVORE.*[137] At each corner of the casket is an evangelist. Between the evangelists, on the sides of the casket are scenes of the martyrdom of the apostles, to which the lower verses refer.

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[134] St. Bernard of Clairvaux, *On the Song of Songs*, 2, Sermon, 29, p.102.

[135] Brussels, Musées Royaux d'art et d'histoire, cat. 39 / 1580. Lasko discusses its debt to Nicholas of Verdun, which is acknowledged but will not be discussed at this point Lasko *Ars Sacra*, pp. 191-2.

[136] Translation: The Cross, the death, the victory of Christ, which the Church honours were by the holy fathers, patriarchs and prophets prefigured and presignified and nevertheless the blind synagogue does not yet believe these things. All translations from the Latin are those of R. Green in 'Reading the Portable Altar of Stavelot', *La Revue Belge d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art*, 72 (2003), pp. 3-9.

[137] Translation: What these have learned to write with God as teacher was confirmed by the death of those, and through the mouth of these were proclaimed from heaven the same things that were ratified by the pious blood of those.

Central to the lid is a large crystal altar stone covering a piece of parchment and an abbreviated *Sanctus* (*SCS*) denoting the first word of the Eucharistic prayer, Sanctus, *Sanctus*, *Sanctus*, *Dominus Deus Sabaoth*.[138] Surrounding the crystal is a quatrefoil inhabited by *Synagoga*, Samson, *Ecclesia*, and Jonah. The spandrels of the quatrefoil also contain supporting themes. At one side of *Synagoga* is Melchizedek offering bread and wine and at the other is Abel who carries a lamb, a type of the sacrifice of Christ on the Cross, the central image in the uppermost register. *Ecclesia* appears with Abraham and Isaac, who carries the wood for the sacrifice, and also with Moses and the Brazen Serpent. Finally, the left scene of the upper register shows Christ carrying his Cross towards the central Crucifixion scene to the right of which is the angel and the Marys at the empty tomb.

The theme of the imagery on the lid of the altar is the sacrificial death of Christ and is again complemented with typological correspondences. Reading upwards, the lowest register has three scenes. At the left is the Last Supper; Christ is surrounded by the apostles. Christ holds a chalice in his right hand, and in his left, the communion bread. The central image is of Pilate who extends a scroll towards a group of Jews. Pilate's scroll is inscribed, *INOCENS Ego Sum A SANGUINE iustihuius*.[139] In response, the inscription on the Jews' scroll is, *SANGVIS EIus SVPer NOS ET SVPer FILIOS NostROS*. [140]Of the many scenes portrayed on the Stavelot Altar, this is the only one where words are exchanged and in a sense heightens the great impasse between Jew and Gentile. Pilate wants nothing to do with the proceedings whereas the Jews willingly accept the responsibility for Christ's death. Above Pilate and the Jews, *Synagoga* is armed with the instruments of the Passion:

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[138] Translation: Holy, holy, holy Lord God of hosts.
[139] Translation: I am innocent of the blood of this just person, Matthew, 27.24.
[140] Translation: His blood be upon us and our sons, Matthew, 27.25.

her guilt is incontestable. The last scene in the lower register portrays the Flagellation, the preliminary to execution under Roman law.

A striking feature of *Synagoga*'s blindfold is that it is conspicuously large: a very flamboyant affair, not of the same 'fit for purpose' design of those on the thieves in the *Life of St. Edmund* or that of Haman in the *Hortus Deliciarum*. It is not unlike the headband on Thomas's executioner in the scene depicted on the sides of the altar. There is no certainty about Thomas's missionary journeys, but there is a strong tradition that he went to India where he met his death. His executioner's headband, the ornamental design on the hem of his dress and the apron around his waist indicate an oriental 'otherness.' *Synagoga*'s blindfold conveys similar impressions: she is of the east, specifically of Jerusalem, the destination of the crusaders some of whom, to avenge the death of Christ, massacred Jews.

The Cleveland pyx

The lid of a reliquary in the Cluny Museum in Paris and the enamel lid of a pyx in the Cleveland Museum of Art have virtually identical Crucifixion scenes and look as if they were made by the same hand **(Fig. 7) (Fig. 45)**.[141] The pyx is datable *c*.1175 and originated in Hildesheim during the reign of Henry the Lion.[142] The composition of the lid has three geometric elements: two semi-circles to the right and left of the central rectangular scene of the Crucifixion. In the semi-circle to the left of the Cross is the sacrifice of Abel and in that to the right of the Cross, the sacrifice of Abraham. Both sacrifices were of a lamb and prefigure the sacrifice of Christ, the Lamb of God.

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[141] Cleveland Museum of Art, 49.31 See W. M. Milliken, 'New Accessions of Champlevé Enamel,' *Bulletin of Cleveland Museum of Art*, 9 (1949), pp. 167-170.

[142] See P. Verdier, 'The Cleveland portable altar from Hildesheim,' *Bulletin of Cleveland Museum of Art*, (1974), pp. 339-342.

The triumph of *Ecclesia* and the subordination of *Synagoga* are clearly expressed. *Ecclesia*, with halo, crown, the Eucharistic chalice and her standard of victory stands confidently at Christ's side. *Synagoga*'s fall from grace is again indicated by her crown, which is about to crash to the ground. She holds two of the instruments of the Passion, the lance and the sponge and strides away from the Cross with vigour and determination. *Synagoga* leaves the scene of Redemption in order to talk to St. John about Christ: she points directly towards Christ as she walks away and the vehemence of her gesture suggests anger or ridicule. The outline of her leg is visible, and reflects the trend for 'damp fold' but such exposure is inappropriate for *Ecclesia*. As befits an unfaithful woman, *Synagoga* flaunts her body with impudence.

Into battle!

The sumptuous cover of a gospels book from Hildesheim of *c.*1170 combines enamel, ivory, gilt copper and precious gems **(Fig. 46)**.[143] *Synagoga*'s blindfold, her stance, gesture and her possession of the spear and sponge are here represented in similar manner as those on the previous examples. Below the Crucifixion is a scene of the angel and the women at the empty tomb. Above is the risen Christ with Mary Magdalene, the *Noli me tangere*. At each of the four corners of the gospel cover are the symbols of the evangelists. One hitherto unfamiliar aspect of Crucifixion imagery is the two female figures outside of the main composition. The figure to the right of Christ holds a standard with a three-tongued flag in her right hand. In her left is a shield but it has no apparent emblem. The figure to the left of Christ raises a sword over her left shoulder. Her back is turned to Christ but her face looks toward her counterpart. Both 'ladies' are prepared for battle as surely as the Virtues and Vices.

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[143] Trier Cathedral Treasury, MS. Cod. 141.

They are versions of *Synagoga* and *Ecclesia* and they their readiness for battle denotes a power struggle.

The First Crusade [144]

The most significant event to have impinged on the representation of *Synagoga* was that which affected the whole of Latin Christendom: the crusades, the first of which was launched by Pope Urban II in 1095. The official leaders were landowning aristocrats and knights who set off for Jerusalem in the summer of 1096 in the hope of winning back for Christians the sacred places of the Holy Land that had been desecrated by Turkish Moslems, and thereafter to allow free passage to Christians who would visit them. Less equipped but equally determined were men women and children led by Peter the Hermit who left before the main contingent. Most perished either *en route* or at the hands of the Turkish army on arrival.

During the crusades, particularly the first, Jews who lived in and around Rhineland routes to the Holy Land were identified with those alleged to be responsible for the Crucifixion. The author of the so-called Mainz Anonymous, the earliest of the Jewish chronicles records evidence of the crusaders' motivation:

> They said to each other: Look now, we are going to a distant country to make war…and we are endangering our lives…when actually it is the Jews who murdered and crucified him.[145]

Although separated by time and distance from the death of Christ, Jews who lived near crusader routes in 1097 were held responsible for it. As Robert Chazan explained; 'The Jews under assault do not seem to have been viewed in their immediate reality; rather, in this period of intense exhilaration and high-blown

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[144] This section is indebted to J. Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the idea of Crusading*, London, 1986.

[145] S. Eidelberg, *The Jews and The Crusaders*: *The Hebrew Chronicles of the First and Second Crusade*, Wisconsin and London, 1977, p. 99.

rhetoric, and of potent imageries, the Jews were abstracted into profound and eternal enemies.'[146] But not all Christians were enemies of Jews. Solomon bar Simson's Chronicle observes the trust placed by Jews in their gentile friends and neighbours when news of the massacres in Mainz, Speyer and Worms reached Cologne:

> Upon learning of the annihilation of the communities, each Jew fled to a Gentile acquaintance and remained there during the two days of the festival' [Pentecost].[147]

Jews who refused to be baptised and embrace Christianity were massacred.[148] In Mainz, many killed themselves rather than be killed by the German nobleman, Emico:

> All of them, to a man, cried out with a loud voice: now we must delay no longer for the enemy is already upon us. Let us hasten and offer ourselves as a sacrifice to the Lord. Let him who has a knife examine it that it not be nicked [or it would be ritually impure] and let him come and slaughter us …and then let him cut his own throat or plunge the knife into his own body.[149]

Guibert of Nogent also wrote an account of the deaths of Jews in Mainz:

> After traversing great distances, we desire to attack the enemies of God in the East, although the Jews, of all races, the worst foes of God, are before our eyes. That's doing our work backward.' Saying this and seizing their weapons, they herded the Jews into a certain place of worship, rounding them up by either force or guile, and without distinction of either sex or age put them to the sword.[150]

Until the end of the eleventh century Jews were 'protected' by popes and monarchs and were generally tolerated. As Moore explains: 'as so often in Jewish history special treatment was dangerous in itself, and what began as privilege later became

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[146] R. Chazan, 'From the First Crusade to the Second,' in, M. Singer and J. Van Engen (eds.), *Jews and Christians in Twelfth-Century Europe*, Notre Dame, 2001, p. 49.

[147] Eidelberg, *The Jews and the Crusaders*, p. 49.

[148] The significance of baptism as a prerequisite of salvation is discussed in Chapter Four.

[149] Written *c*.1140 by Solomon bar Samson. See J. R. Marcus, *The Jew in the Medieval World*: *A Source Book*: *315-1791*, Cincinnati, 1999, p.130. Solomon bar Simson's account was compiled from a selection of 'disjointed earlier records' forty-four years after the events he describes. See S.W. Baron, A *Social and Religious History of the Jews*, New York and London, 1965, 4, p. 142.

[150] J. F. Benton (ed.), *Self and Society in Medieval France*: *The memoirs of abbot Guibert of Nogent*, Toronto, 1994, pp. 134-5.

the means of oppression.'[151] While by no means unprecedented, during and following the period of the crusades, the certainty of Jewish culpability in the death of Christ implicit in Matthew 27.25 ('let his blood be upon us and our children') accelerated violence towards the Jews.

Crusading landowners and mobocracy were not the only threat to Jews: the misplaced zeal of priests and religious was sometimes also be feared. During the second crusade one of the perpetrators of the pogroms against the Rhineland Jews was a Cistercian monk, Radulf Glabar. In his *Book of Remembrance* Rabbi Ephraim of Bonn recalls:

> Radulf, the priest of idolatry, rose against the nation of God to destroy, slay, and annihilate them just as the wicked Haman had attempted to do...wherever he went, he spoke evil of the Jews of the land and incited the snake and the dogs against us saying: Avenge the crucified one upon his enemies who stand before you; then go to war against the Ishmaelites.[152]

In 1146 Radulf was the subject of a letter from Bernard of Clairvaux to Henry, Archbishop of Mainz.[153] Bernard tells the Archbishop, 'I find three things most reprehensible in him [Radulf]: unauthorised preaching, contempt for Episcopal authority, and incitation to murder.' Consciously or not, Bernard appears to regard murder as the least of Radulf's crimes although to give him his due, Bernard succeeded in preventing further bloodshed and Rabbi Ephraim lavished praise on him for his help in preventing more atrocities:

> He sent a decent priest…Bernard of Clairvaux, to deal with this evil person…Bernard spoke; 'it is good that you go against the Ishmaelites. But whosoever touches a Jew to take his life is like one who harms Jesus himself.[154]

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[151] Moore, *Formation*, p. 152.
[152] Eidelberg, *The Jews and the Crusaders*, p. 122.
[153] Bernard of Clairvaux, *Letters*, pp. 465-6.
[154] Eidelberg, *Jews and Crusaders*, p. 122.

Bernard was moved by the need to demonstrate what he (like Augustine) believed to be the petition of Psalm 59.11: ‘Do not annihilate them, or my people may forget; shake them in your power, bring them low.’ Bernard asks the Archbishop:

> Is it not a far better triumph for the Church to convince and convert the Jews than to put them all to the sword? Has that prayer which the Church offers for the Jews, from the rising up of the sun to the going down thereof, that the veil may be taken from their hearts so that they may be led from the darkness of error into the light of truth been instituted in vain? [155]

For Bernard, the triumph of conversion would be a greater achievement than the annihilation of the Jews. His intervention was motivated by expedience.

Similarly rhetorical (and with prophetic affectation) was Bernard’s letter to the English People, also written in 1146 in which he writes, ‘the earth is shaking because the Lord of heaven is losing his land, the land in which he appeared to men.’ Bernard laments the destruction and asks, ‘what are you doing you mighty men of valour? What are you doing you servants of the Cross? In keeping with his disgust of the monk, Radulf, Bernard warned;

> I have heard with great joy of the zeal for God’s glory which burns in your midst, but your zeal needs the timely restraint of knowledge. The Jews are not to be persecuted, killed or even put to flight. Ask anyone who know the Sacred Scriptures what he finds foretold of the Jews in the psalm [59.11]. ‘Not for their destruction do I pray’ it says. The Jews are for us the living words of Scripture, for they remind us always of what our Lord suffered…hence the same psalm adds, ‘only let thy power disperse them.’ And so it is: dispersed they are.[156]

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[155] The source is St. Paul: 2 Corinthians, 3.14 ‘…until this very day, the same veil remains over the reading of the Old Testament: it is not lifted, for only in Christ is it done away with.’ Until the Second Vatican Council sessions of 1962-5 one of the intercessionary prayers offered during the Good Friday liturgy was ‘Let us pray also for the faithless Jews: that our Lord God would withdraw the veil from their hearts: That they may also acknowledge our Lord Jesus Christ.’ At time of writing, the amendments to the intercession still petition for the conversion of the Jews.

[156] Bernard of Clairvaux, *Letters*, p. 460.

Conclusion

Discussion and analysis of *Synagoga* in Crucifixion imagery has shown how she became the repository of hostile attitudes to Jews on an unprecedented scale. Whereas *Synagoga*'s reputation as the unfaithful wife degraded her and encouraged blame and censure, supporting imagery did not have the measure of vilification as that of Crucifixion scenes. The process of alienation was staggered and tentative as demonstrated by the Carolingian ivories and the Uta Codex. It is conceivable that the level of hostility that was registered in *Synagoga* by the attribution of the instruments of the Passion might have developed without any particular influence. However, the first crusade provided a catalyst for those who blamed Jews for the death of Christ to retaliate, despite the time and distance that separated them from the source of the allegation. Hence the representation of *Synagoga* saw her transformed from personification to surrogate: *Synagoga* defined those Jews who killed Christ and who accepted his death as their responsibility and for which at the Last Judgement, they would be denied a place in Heaven.

Chapter Four: Judgement and Reconciliation

In this final chapter the concept of judgement and salvation of the soul *post mortem* will be explored through representations of the Last Judgement and the associated Wise and Foolish Virgins imagery that became a familiar aspect of monumental ecclesiastical art during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. I will argue that despite scriptural and exegetical authority for the salvation of the Jews, patrons and designers of Last Judgement imagery failed to include any among the Saved. By contrast, some contemporaneous commentaries of the *Song of Songs* discussed the salvation of *Synagoga* at the end of time, specifically the commentaries of John of Ford (from 1191) and of Honorius Augustodunensis (1135) which are particularly 'reassuring.' However, visual reference to the exclusion of Jews at the wedding of Christ and his Church, exemplified by the juxtaposition in public places of *Synagoga* with the Foolish Virgins, outweighs the private reconciliatory approach of John of Ford and Honorius.

Last Judgement imagery was not devised with the salvation of *Synagoga* in mind or for that matter with Jews, unless to condemn them. As an abstraction, *Synagoga* is not effectively accommodated within the corporeality of Last Judgement scenes: an abstraction does not go either to Heaven or to Hell. The teaching of the Church, emanating from Christ's words in the gospel of St. Matthew acknowledged what happens after death as reality, and in Last Judgement programmes as in some Crucifixion scenes, it is sometimes the case that where *Synagoga* is represented, the hostilities levelled at her are intended for Jews, as will become apparent in due course. A brief account of the concepts of judgement and salvation will clarify the argument.

The eschatological vision of the Church proceeded from scripture and included the Jews in the plan of salvation. ‘I heard how many had been sealed: a hundred and forty-four thousand out of all the tribes of Israel’ (Revelation, 7.4). Paul was even reassuring: ‘part of Israel had its mind hardened, but only until the gentiles have wholly come in; and this is how all Israel will be saved. As scripture says: ‘‘and so all should be saved, as it is written: there shall come out of Zion, he that shall deliver and shall turn away ungodliness from Jacob’’ (Romans, 11.25-6, citing Isaiah, 59.20: ‘Then for Zion will come a redeemer, for those who stop rebelling in Jacob, declares Yahweh’). Revelation, 1.7 cited at the beginning of the previous chapter, is particularly apposite: ‘Look, he is coming on the clouds; everyone will see him, even those who pierced him.’ Here, the author of Revelation is, like the gospel of John 19.37, referring to Zechariah, 12.10: ‘they will mourn for the one whom they have pierced.’ In other words, the Jews will lament the death of Christ. But, ‘when that day comes, a fountain will be opened for the House of David ...to wash sin and impurity away’ (Zechariah, 13.1). The implication is that the Jews will be baptised, acknowledge Christ as the Messiah and thus no longer be blamed or bear the guilt for the Crucifixion.

Foretold and forewarned

The account of the Fall of Man in Genesis, 3, 1-24 prepared Jews and Christians for the inevitability of punishment if they disobeyed God’s commands. The proscriptions of the Ten Commandments warned of the consequences for those who did not comply. To take a few examples, for calling upon the name of God in vain, the penalty was death by stoning (Leviticus, 24.16), for breaking the rules of the Sabbath, the penalty was capital punishment (Exodus, 35.2), and so too, in cases of adultery both parties were put to death (Leviticus, 20.10). Christ spoke of a more severe judgement: ‘great distress unparalleled since the world began’ (Matthew, 24.21, recalling Daniel, 12.1). Representations of the Last Judgement followed the description given by Christ in the great eschatological discourse in Matthew’s Gospel: ‘all the nations will be assembled before the Son of Man and will be separated as a shepherd separates sheep and goats. The sheep will be placed at his right hand and the goats at his left.’ (Matthew, 25, 31-46).

This ‘binary eschatology’ is the only certain compositional determinant of Last Judgement imagery.[1] A sixth-century mosaic in the church of Sant’ Apollinare Nuovo in Ravenna reflects the polarity. Christ is seated between two angels. To the right of Christ are three sheep; to his left, three goats **(Fig. 1)**. The portrayal of people was later substituted for those of the sheep and goats and invariably there is an assortment of individuals: kings, popes, monastics, and the lesser mortals of the laity at either side of Christ, as at St-Foy, Conques **(Fig. 2)**. Occasionally, the different nations such as the turbaned ‘Moslems’ at Torcello are portrayed, as are Jews in the *Hortus Deliciarum* Last Judgement **(Fig. 3)**.

Like the *Hortus Deliciarum*, Eucharistic vessels such as patens and chalices made no impact on the laity in general. The Wilten paten stylistically dated to 1160-70 exemplifies imagery that is unequivocal in its hostility to Jews **(Fig. 4)**.[2] The inner circle of the paten comprises a Crucifixion scene with the symbols of the evangelists

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[1] P. Binski, *Medieval Death*, *Ritual and Representation*, London, 1996, p. 210.

[2] Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, KK 8924. A companion chalice and two *fistulae* (metal straws used to drink the wine as a precaution against spillage) also survive, Lasko, *Ars Sacra*, p. 206.

and Mary and John. In the outer circle a group of people walks towards the door of Hell, the flames of which can be seen inside **(Fig. 4 a)**. The leader holds a banner inscribed *Sinagoga* to identify the group as Jewish, and are about to be consigned to eternal damnation, for no other apparent reason than that they are Jews. The remainder of the imagery on the outer rim is given over to the saved, led by angels to Paradise. Here too, Christ rescues those who died before his incarnation, traditionally, Adam and Eve and the Patriarchs, but there is nobody among the saved that can be visually identified as Jewish, at least by the standard twelfth-century attribute: the *judenhut* whose significance has been discussed.

A strong typological inference is evident from one of the inscriptions on the accompanying Wilten chalice **(Fig. 5)**: *IN TESTAMENTO VETERI QVASI SVB TEGVAMENTO CLAVSA LATET NOVA LEX NOVVS IN CRUCE QVAM RES ERAT REX.*[3] The outer rim of the paten is inscribed, *QVE REPROBAT CHR*(*istu*)*M SINAGOGA MERETVR ABISSVM ECC*(*les*)*IE FIDEI DAT GRATIA GAVDIA CELI HIC HOMO LETATVR QVOD CELICOLIS SOCIATVR.*[4] The inscription on the inner rim is briefer: *PECCATVM CHRISTVS MVNDI TOLLIT CRVCIFIXUS.*[5] Potentially the Wilten paten was used for mass on a daily basis and the hostility of its imagery and texts reminded the celebrant that Jews have rejected Christ and were beyond salvation. The condemned Jews are given no recourse to appeal; judgement has been pronounced and is irrevocable, seemingly without the weighing of souls that might grant the benefit of the doubt.

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[3] Translation: In the Old Testament, just as under a cover, the New Testament is concealed, which the new King unsealed on the Cross.

[4] Translation: The synagogue that disowned Christ merits the abyss of hell. The mercy of the ecclesiastical faith gives heavenly joy. Here man rejoices, because he is joined to the occupants of heaven.

[5] Translation: The crucified Christ bears away the sin of the world.

The weighing of souls

The eschatological significance of the weighing of souls pervades the belief systems of the Abrahamic faiths, and it is a process that is frequently represented in Last Judgement imagery.[6] In the Last Judgement in the tympanum of the central portal of the west front of Notre Dame at Amiens (1220-35), the weighing provided an opportunity to represent the damnation of *Synagoga*. St. Michael the Archangel stands between two angels with trumpets who summon the resurrection of the dead **(Fig. 6)**.[7] The Archangel holds the scales on behalf of God, who alone will decide the fate of those around him. The pan on St. Michael's right holds the *Agnus Dei*, the Lamb of God that takes away the sins of the world. The pan on his left is occupied by a devilish creature whose companion tries to influence the scales in the devil's favour. Directly beneath the Lamb is *Ecclesia* who holds a scroll **(Fig. 6a)**.

Blindfold *Synagoga* sits opposite *Ecclesia*, beneath the devil's pan. *Synagoga*'s proximity to the devil confirms that those she personifies are among the Damned. In this context, *Synagoga* represents Jews. The scene is not as vivid as it might have been had it appeared closer to the viewer. But, to endorse *Synagoga*'s guilt, on the jambs of the door beneath the tympanum are the Wise and Foolish Virgins. The Wise appear below *Ecclesia*, the Foolish below *Synagoga*. Hence, it is clear that the designers wanted to create a relationship between *Ecclesia* and the chosen, *Synagoga* and the excluded.

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[6] 'Let me be weighed in a just balance, and let God know my integrity', Job, 31.6; 'you have been weighed in the balances and found wanting', Daniel, 5.27; 'the balance on that day is true, and whosever scales are heavy, they are prosperous, but whosoever scales are light, they it is who lose themselves, for that they did act unjustly by our signs', Sura 7.5 *Qur'ān*, E.H.Palmer (trans.), Oxford, 1949, p.124. See especially M. Phillips Perry, 'On the Psychostasis in Christian Art,' *Burlington Magazine*, 22 (1912-13), pp. 94-105 and pp. 208-18. Despite its date, this is the most comprehensive account of the subject.

[7] W. Sauerländer, *Gothic Sculpture in France 1140-1270*, London, 1972.

The Wise and Foolish Virgins

As Michael Kauffmann has observed, of the thirty or so parables of Jesus, only two were explained by him: the Parable of the Tares, Matthew 13. 36-43, and the Parable of the Sower, Mark 4.13-20.[8] The remainder of the parables were delivered on the basis of eliciting an appropriate response from listeners 'if any man has ears to hear, let him hear,' Mark. 4.23. Although it was delivered to first-century Palestinians, the parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins had an enduring appeal, since weddings were a rite of passage and the 'fact' of the second coming of Jesus concerned all the nations. The incidence of wedding symbolism as a means of explaining the relationship between *Synagoga* and *Ecclesia* was discussed in Chapter 2. The eschatological significance of the Wise and Foolish Virgins, the former able to attend but the latter excluded from the joyous celebrations, is now the focus.

The appropriateness of the parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins in Last Judgement imagery is readily apparent for it preceded (along with the Parable of the Talents) Christ's description of the Last Judgement in Matthew, Chapter 25. A miniature in the sixth-century Rossanensis Codex visualises the outcome **(Fig. 7)**.[9] Christ closes the door on the Foolish Virgins. Apart from the one nearest the closed door, who wears black, the other Foolish Virgins are dressed in vivid colours. The Wise Virgins, who have crossed the threshold, are clothed in brilliant white and walk serenely along the four rivers of Paradise; a detail that does not often appear in sculptural settings. Inevitably, the parable is about the Damned and the Chosen and of

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[8] C.M. Kauffmann, 'The Sainte-Chapelle Lectionaries and the Illustration of the Parables in the Middle Ages,' *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 67 (2004), pp. 1-22.

[9] Codex Purpureus Rossanensis, fol. 2*v* Rossano, Italy. See W. Volbach, *Early Christian Art*, London, 1961, pl. 241.

what would happen to those who refused to respond to the King's invitation (Matthew, 22, 2-14). As an exemplar of those who are willing and those who are unprepared to be with the King / Bridegroom, the parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins contributed to ideas surrounding the relationship between Christians and Jews.

As far as monumental examples are concerned, it all began with Suger. The central portal of Suger's west façade at St-Denis contains four reliefs of the Wise Virgins to the left of the doorpost and the four Foolish Virgins to the right **(Fig. 8)**. (The fifth in each case are situated on the tympanum where the Last Judgement is in process). Whereas the interpretative complexity of Suger's Last Judgement is well known ('there is no single prototype that includes all the elements or ideas presented at Saint-Denis,' as Gerson asserts) the Wise and Foolish Virgins provided an unambiguous statement about preparing for the return of Christ.[10] Symbolising those who were prepared for the wedding of the Lamb and his Bride, (Revelation, 19.8-10) and those who were not, the Wise and Foolish Virgins subsequently accompanied Last Judgement schemes in several places where there was a significant Jewish population: Bourges, Amiens, Reims, Strasbourg, Magdeburg and elsewhere.

In monumental settings, the proximity of the Wise and Foolish Virgins and *Ecclesia* and *Synagoga* was intended to empower *Ecclesia* and to thwart *Synagoga* so that large audiences could be aware of the supremacy of the Church. Although the connection is not very prominent at Amiens, it is easily noticed at the Cathedral of Notre-Dame, Paris. Here, *Ecclesia* and *Synagoga* are situated to left and right of the

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[10] P. L. Gerson, 'Suger as Iconographer: The Central Portal of the West Façade of Saint-Denis,' in P.L. Gerson, (ed.), *Abbot Suger and Saint-Denis*: *A Symposium*, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1987, pp. 183-194.

central doorway of the west façade **(Fig. 9, Fig. 9a)**.[11] The Wise and Foolish Virgins are situated close by on its abutments while the corresponding Virtues and Vices appear in the socles beneath the apostles in the jambs. The negative inference is clear: *Synagoga* is on the side of those who will not see Christ when he comes again. *Synagoga* is unprepared due to self-indulgence and has been contaminated by vice. Such interpretation has more to do with *Synagoga*'s moral intransigence than with unpreparedness, but all the same, she is to be condemned.

Synagoga's eyes are concealed by a snake, a reference to the Fall of Adam and Eve. The tablets of the Law in her right hand are inverted, and about to fall, because her loss of power renders her too weak to hold on to them any longer. Her crown is on the ground, resting near her broken standard. *Synagoga* has been defeated and has no hope of entering heaven. Here, *Synagoga* is no longer the custodian of the first covenant, but has become a surrogate for 'the Jews' who had no regard for Christ and who were ill-prepared for his marriage to his bride, *Ecclesia* in the heavenly Jerusalem from which they are consequently excluded.

Similar examples of the close proximity of the Wise and Foolish Virgins and *Ecclesia* and *Synagoga*, include Magdeburg, Freiberg and Erfurt. At the cathedral of Saints Maurice and Catherine in Magdeburg *c.*1245, *Ecclesia* and *Synagoga* appeared with the Wise and Foolish Virgins as a reminder of the door to Paradise and of the door to Hell **(Fig. 10)**. Smiles and expressions of desperation characterise the Magdeburg Virgins. Andrew Martindale opined, 'the sculptor made bold attempt to register suitable expressions of joy and despair.'[12] It is clear that the parable was

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[11] The original statues were taken away during the French Revolution and are considered lost. The existing *Synagoga* and *Ecclesia* have undergone restoration. See Mâle, *Religious Art: Twelfth Century*, p.197, n.49.

[12] A. Martindale, *Gothic Art*, London, 1988, p. 61.

expanded and manipulated in order to associate *Synagoga* with damnation but the sense of alienation and discrimination experienced in these places by Jews cannot be ascertained although this was surely the intention.

Whereas in some instances the Wise and Foolish Virgins and *Ecclesia* and *Synagoga* are present, they are perhaps, too far apart from each other for the connection-*Ecclesia* wise and saved, *Synagoga* foolish and rejected, to be distinct. At the cathedral of Notre-Dame in Strasbourg, the Wise and Foolish Virgins are situated (*c*.1280-90) on the jambs of the right portal of the west façade above which, in the tympanum, the Last Judgement is in process.[13] *Synagoga* and *Ecclesia* appear to right and left of the south transept portal *c*.1230 so here, they are separated from the Wise and Foolish Virgins both chronologically and spatially. The Foolish Virgins have eyes only for the Prince of the World with whom they flirt **(Fig. 11)**. The Foolish Virgin who stands next to the Prince has dropped and broken her lamp (recalling *Synagoga*'s broken standard) and neither she nor her companions is aware of the Prince's back, which is infested with toads, symbol of lust. The Foolish Virgins are concerned more with the carnal pleasure in the here and now than with making preparations for the hereafter. By contrast, the Wise Virgins with lamps full of oil stand next to Christ, who blesses them **(Fig. 12)**.

The Wise and Foolish Virgins in general and particularly at Paris summarised the attitude of the Church to the relationship between Jew and Christian in the early thirteenth century. *Ecclesia* has triumphed over *Synagoga*. The perceived priority of the Church that was established through long and complex processes in ways that validated *Ecclesia* as the true bride, affirmed Christians as the New Israel. Reading

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[13] Both statues are replicas; the originals are in the Strasbourg cathedral museum. See Seiferth, *Synagogue and Church*, p. 177.

the Old Testament the ‘correct’ way, through the application of typology, had reached a visual finale in these two personifications; a finale which effectively excludes Jews from salvation.

Still, the parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins was only of limited help, for the ‘sin’ of the Foolish Virgins was nothing more than lack of attention to detail. After all, they were present at the venue; they had some oil but not enough. That only ‘the Father’ knew when the mystical wedding would take place made it difficult for anybody to be fully prepared. Warnings of the imminence of Judgement were often repeated. That of Gregory the Great (*c*.540-604) is apt: ‘it ought to be the more apprehended as always coming, as it cannot be foreknown by us when it is about to come.’[14] The location for the Last Judgement was also uncertain although Theodorich describes ‘simple’ pilgrims who collected piles of stones in a field beyond the western gate of Jerusalem, ‘because they say that on the Day of Judgement they will take their seats upon them.’[15]

The Foolish Virgins associated *Synagoga* with the Damned, but there were other means of achieving this. Representation of the Vices, ever popular since Prudentius, could also provide the link. Thus, on the north portal of Chartres, blindfold *Synagoga* appears under *Faith*.[16] The juxtaposition is eloquent. A more subtle association between *Synagoga* and the Damned appears on a Majestas (a subject that preceded last Judgement imagery) in the tympanum of west portal of the abbey church of St.-Bénigne in Dijon, *c*.1160 **(Fig. 13)**.[17] Christ is surrounded by the

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[14] *Pope Gregory the Great*, *Moralia in Job*, Oxford, J.H. Parker (trans.), 1844, p. 401.

[15] *Theodorich of Würzburg*, *Guide to the Holy Land*, A. Stewart (trans.), third edition with new introduction by R.G. Musto, New York, 1986, pp. 50-51.

[16] E. Mâle, *Religious Art in France*: *The Thirteenth Century*: *A Study of Medieval Art and its Sources*, Princeton, New Jersey, 1984, p.114.

[17] Sauerländer, *Gothic Sculpture*, p. 390, ill. 8.

symbols of the evangelists and at his right is *Ecclesia* holding a 'church.' At Christ's left is *Synagoga* next to a goat that resonates with the rejected in Matthew, 25. 41 'go away from me, with your curse upon you, to the eternal fire prepared for the devil and his angels.' Finally, on the mid-twelfth-century west portal of the priory church of Saint-Ayoul in Provins, the connection between *Synagoga* and damnation could not be more blatant. Here, in the outer arch above the tympanum that displayed Christ in Majesty, *Ecclesia* is situated beneath Paradise, *Synagoga* beneath Hell **(Fig. 14)**.[18]

Ubiquity and variety

Apocalyptic and Last Judgement iconography was generated by expectations of the return of Christ. According to Rodulfus Glaber *c*. 980-1047:

> Just before the third year after the millennium, throughout the whole world, but most especially in Italy and Gaul, men began to reconstruct churches, although for the most part the existing ones were properly built and not in the least unworthy. But it seemed as though each Christian community were shaking itself free, shrugging off the burden of the past, and cladding itself everywhere in a white mantle of churches.[19]

If this was so in the early eleventh century, the attention to didactic elements of church decoration in the following century would pay heed to the future but with an altogether different emphasis: the prospect of Hell, *post mortem*. St. Anselm envisaged what it would be like:

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[18] Sauerländer, *Gothic Sculpture* p. 402.

[19] *Rodulfus Glaber*, *The Five Books of the Histories*, J. France, (ed. and trans.), Oxford, 1933, pp. 115-116.

> Horror, horror! What is this that I gaze upon, where they live
> without order, in eternal horror? Ah, a confusion of noises, a tumult
> of gnashing teeth, a babble of groans. Ah, ah, too much woe.[20]

In order to avoid such a prospect, conspicuous warnings were devised.

If one rises from the dead...

Alongside the Christ in Majesty and the elders of the Apocalypse portal at the Church of St. Peter in Moissac, is a scene of Lazarus and Dives from the narrative in Luke, 16, 19-31 **(Fig. 15)**. The scene functioned as a warning against a lack of charity before it was too late. Lazarus was a leprous beggar whose sores were licked by dogs which added to his shame for dogs were regarded as unclean scavengers and had a particularly bad reputation: ‘as a dog that returns to his vomit, so is the fool that repeats his folly’ (Proverbs, 26.11). Lazarus frequented the gate of a rich man (*homo quidam erat dives*) and longed to eat even the crumbs from his table. When Lazarus and ‘Dives’ died, Lazarus was taken to the bosom of Abraham but Dives was burned in Hell.

Dives begged Abraham to send Lazarus so that he would dip his fingers in water to cool Dives’s tongue but without success. Abraham told Dives that a great chaos separated them and such a meeting was impossible. Finally, Dives asked that Lazarus be allowed to go to his five brothers to warn them of the consequences of an uncharitable life: they would surely be convinced if somebody returned from the dead. Abraham’s response was; ‘if they hear not Moses and the prophets, neither will they believe if one rise from the dead.’

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[20] ‘Anselm of Canterbury, The Prayers and Meditations of St. Anselm, Meditation Two: A Lament for Virginity Unhappily Lost,’ in B. Ward (trans.), *The Prayers and Meditations of St. Anselm*, Harmondsworth, 1973, pp. 227-8.

As with all the parables, there is more than one level of understanding and interpretation of its meaning. Those people who enjoy a good earthly life cannot expect it to continue in the hereafter while those who suffer can look forward to eternal bliss. However this would ignore those rich people who are also good and the poor who are wicked. By implication the 'five brothers' represent those Jews who disregarded the teaching of Moses and the prophets. Had they listened they would know that Moses and the prophets foretold the coming of Christ, his baptism in the Spirit, his death and resurrection. The brothers (Jews) had not heeded Isaiah, 6.9-10, a warning reiterated by Jesus in Matthew, 13. 14: 'listen and listen, but never understand.' Viewers might also relate Dives and his wealth to Jews whose financial acumen allowed them to finance Christian enterprises such as the building of Cluny and other religious houses. The parable was a means of giving second chances to those whose wealth obstructed charity, before they were called to account.

That Jews are implicated in the perils of wealth in the parable of Dives and Lazarus is an indication of their sinfulness but they were more obviously identified as sinners in some manuscript illustrations. Prior to the creation of the large-scale Last Judgement programmes, scenes of Hell did not ever include details of the residents' sins; often there is no clue by way of attributes or gestures as to what they have done. For example, in the Last Judgement scene in the *Liber Vitae* of New Minster (*c.*1016-20), St. Peter selects the righteous in the middle register, and then, in the upper register, he invites them to enter Heaven **(Fig. 16)**. In the lowest register, an angel secures the door of Hell where some of the Damned fall headlong into a Hell mouth.[21] What they have done to deserve this punishment is not known: sin is generic rather

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[21] London, B.L. MS. Stowe 944, fol. 2.

than specific. A miniature of a Hell mouth in the Winchester Psalter is also reticent about sinners' transgressions but is clear about who goes to Hell **(Fig. 17)**.[22] Among those safely locked in by an angel are a queen, a king whose hands are tied, a monk, and a Jew but why he is there is not indicated; except his Jewishness. Although this figure's *judenhut* is not as distinctive as some of those seen in Chapter 3, this may be a variant of style which is evident on the bronze doors of the cathedral of San Zeno, Verona where at least two variants of the *judenhut* are discernible. In the scene of Abraham and the three angels, Abraham's hat ends in a sharp point. The hats worn by Christ's tormentors and by Joseph of Arimathaea and Nicodemus are pointed but much less so.[23]

Sinners and sins are more obviously associated in one of the miniatures in the commentary on the Apocalypse by Beatus of Liébana, the Silos Apocalypse, fol. 2, **(Fig. 18)**.[24] Hell is enclosed neatly in a quatrefoil arrangement and at the centre is Dives, now tormented by beasts and speared by devils. Also among the damned is Barrabas, the murderer who was freed from prison at the time of the Crucifixion. Barrabas extends one of his fingers beyond the frame in order to tamper with the scales held by St. Michael, who calmly sets it right. Barrabas tries also to interfere with the lovers who are in bed together and who appear to be undisturbed either by Barrabas's interference or by their damnation: they still have each other.

From these examples it is clear that the sins of lust, murder, and avarice are among those that would merit a place in Hell. The Last Judgement at St-Foy, Conques is also notable in this respect for some of Hell's residents are represented in situations that indicate their sins. For example, a knight falls from his horse, possibly

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[22] London, B.L. Ms. Cotton Nero C IV, fol. 39.

[23] Boeckler, *Die Bronzetür*, 2, p.7.

[24] London, B.L. Add. Ms. 11695, fol. 2.

associating him with pride. A bare-breasted woman and her male companion are in chains and await the punishment for lust. A man that has been hanged has a money bag around his neck and may represent Judas, the traitor who betrayed Christ to the authorities for money and later hanged himself **(Fig. 19)**. The message to the faithful was clear: if they could identify with the sins depicted they must make amends before it was too late. But again it is the case that for Jews, there appears to have been no sin, other than their Jewishness as is clear in Herrad's Hell.

Herrad's Hell

Herrad had no misgivings about identifying Jews *qua* Jews in Hell. One of the representations of the Last Judgement in her *Hortus Deliciarum* is unequivocal in its condemnation of *Judei* (Jews), who stand behind other non-Christians, *Pagani* (Pagans) **(Fig.20-as 3)**.[25] Close by are worldly prelates, foolish virgins and infidels, the unfaithful. These have evidently been judged and are about to be despatched to Hell, which is represented on fol. 255 *r* **(Fig. 21)**. Herrad's Hell is a fiery place and was inspired partly by Isaiah 66.24 (the only inscription, uppermost register, left): *vermis impiorum non morietur et ignis illorum in sempiternum non extinguetur*.[26] Flames attack the bodies of the people who occupy the four registers of the composition.

A variety of transgressors is represented: a man is forced to swallow coins, and a monk with a purse around his neck waits his turn. Perhaps he has tried to bribe his way into a monastery or gain favours in some other respect following Simon Magus who tried to buy the power of the Holy Spirit (Acts, 8.18-24). Simony was one

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[25] *Hortus Deliciarum*, fol. 253, *v*.

[26] Translation: The worms of the impious will never die nor their fire be put out.

of the many clerical vices to be rooted out by ecclesiastical reformers but one that was not easily achieved. Pope Gregory the Great (590-624) had denounced simony as heresy and insisted that it was not simply dealing in money but might amount also to flattery in the hope of gaining a position.[27] The purse is all the monk has for consolation, in Hell. Above the monk, some Jews distinguishable by *judenhuts* have a cauldron to themselves and are boiled–perhaps, as Binski suggests, as 'a weird parody of baptismal rites – a real baptism of fire.'[28]

Next to the Jews are knights in helmets who suffer a similar fate. Above, two ladies in fashionable dress are about to get their comeuppance for their vanity, namely to be stripped before they are poked by devils with long spears. One of the ladies is about to eat a child. In the uppermost register devils have sport with helpless sinners who are suspended by ropes. The use of attributes to indicate sinfulness is a very telling way of inviting viewers to examine their own consciences: a mirror reflecting their own transgressions although again, those of Jews are intrinsic to what they simply are.[29] Hence, on a fragmentary relief from Mainz Cathedral (*c.*1239), a bearded man whose long hair flows from beneath a *judenhut* is one of the Damned chained to others **(Fig. 21)**.[30] The man stares passively at the viewer; his face lacks the anguish of that on the sinner next to him, for this man is resigned to his fate. Brief comparison with the image of the Blessed from the same location shows how different things were for them. The expression on the face of a child, whose hands are joined in prayer (or a gesture of glee), summarises the extent of relief and

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[27] See T. Reuter, 'Gifts and Simony', in E. Cohen and Mayke B. de Jong (eds.), *Medieval Transformation Texts*, *Power and Gifts in Context*, Leiden, 2001, p.161. See also, H. Leyser, 'Clerical purity and the Re-ordered World,' in M. Rubin and W. Simons (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Christianity*, 4: *Christianity in Western Europe c.1100 -c.1500*, Cambridge and New York, 2009, pp. 11-22.

[28] Binski, *Medieval Death*, p. 181.

[29] For an account of 'real sinners' in Giotto's Hell in the Arena Chapel fresco (1350), see B. Cassidy, 'Laughing with Giotto at Sinners in Hell,' *Viator*, 35 (2004), pp. 355-396.

[30] P. Williamson, *Gothic Sculpture 1140-1300*, New Haven and London, 1995, pp. 178-9.

thankfulness, but no Jews are included despite the tenet that when the Day of the Lord came they would be included among the Saved **(Fig. 22)**.

Beaulieu

Of the monuments under consideration, only one makes reference to the salvation of the Jews, although the representation has been variously interpreted and indeed the scene itself is more of an Apocalypse than a Last Judgement. Whereas the portrayal of St. Michael weighing souls in the scales is not included, monstrous beasts that devour people are portrayed in the lintel, making the idea of hellish torment clear. The scene occupies the tympanum of the south portal of the abbey church of St. Peter, Beaulieu *c.*1130-35 **(Fig. 24)**. Here also is the seven-headed beast of Revelation, and above the lintel the dead rise from their coffins. Next to them on the right are four bearded men who wear an assortment of head gear. One resembles a crown; two others appear to be variants of the Phrygian cap while that of the man nearest to Christ is similar to the headband worn by *Synagoga* as seen in some of the Crucifixion imagery in Chapter 3.

Each of the men to the right of the resurrecting dead uses hand gestures: at far right, the man's hands are held together as if in prayer while his companion points to his face, perhaps to his eyes. The next man has his right hand close to his chest and with his left hand lifts his lower garment as if to indicate his genitalia **(Figs. 24-5)**. The fourth man points upwards with his right hand while his left hand is open, perhaps to reveal that it is empty. On the right side of the resurrecting dead are three seated men who have headgear similar to those on the left side. Two of the men lift their garments and the third man extends his hands, towards the feet of the saint above.

The role of the men, their costume and gestures has been variously interpreted. Debra Higgs Strickland regards the Beaulieu scene as a 'prominent reference to the conversion of both Jews and Muslims thus situating it simultaneously within eschatological and crusader thought-worlds'.[31] M.F. Hearn argues that 'the best explanation is that they represent heretics of the type loosely labelled Albigensian. The costumes seem to represent those of heretical proselytisers who went about dressed incognito as jesters, hence the double-and triple-peaked hats. Their gestures correspond to the ritual recantation prescribed by the Church.'[32] However, Henry Krauss proposes that the gestures indicate an attempt to show that the men are Jews: 'the seven little men must represent those who are still alive on Doomsday and the Jews among them are excitedly anticipating the trial to which they will soon be called.'[33]

The gesture of men is unlike any in Last Judgement scenes discussed here. The reason can really only be to show what is beneath: genitals. The men wish to draw attention to the authenticity of their Jewishness, their circumcision, a permanent means of identification superior to the *judenhut* which was an ephemeral sign to distinguish those who did not belong in Christian society and, at the time of the Beaulieu tympanum, was fairly widespread as an outward sign of Jewish 'otherness.' So if the designers had wanted to indicate that the men were Jewish, the *judenhut*

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[31] D. Higgs Strickland, *Saracens*, *Demons*, *and Jews*. *Making Monsters in Medieval Art*, Princeton, New Jersey, 2003, pp. 160-61.

[32] M.F. Hearn, *Romanesque Sculpture*: *The Revival of Monumental Stone Sculpture in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries*, Oxford, 1981, p. 179.

[33] H. Krauss, *The Living Theatre of Medieval Art*, London, 1967, p. 143.

would probably have been the most recognisable means. However, it is possible that the designers wished to portray Jews as Saved because they obeyed God. From Abraham onwards circumcision was the means of acknowledging God's command that his people be distinguished from others. 'You shall circumcise the flesh of your foreskin: that it may be for a sign of the covenant between me and you' (Genesis, 17.11). Hence the men on the Beaulieu tympanum belong with the Saved because they are affiliated with their patriarch Abraham, who circumcised his son, Isaac, as a sign of belonging to a specific group of people elected to be of special service God. For their obedience, the little men will see him. Of course this 'explanation' is only one option but the interpretation fits the visual evidence well enough to be plausible.

In whom I am well pleased

But if circumcision pleased God, so too did baptism. 'John was in the desert, baptising and preaching the baptism of penance unto remission of sins. And there went out to him all the country of Judea and all they of Jerusalem' (Mark, 1.4-5). Jews acceded to baptism before Christ came to begin his ministry and was himself baptised by John when 'a voice from heaven' expressed approval (Matthew, 13.17, Mark, 1.11, Luke, 3.21-2). Jesus told Nicodemus about the relationship between baptism and salvation: 'no one can enter the kingdom of God without being born through water and the spirit' (John, 3.5). In such a way, baptism was a preparation for the New Jerusalem so that when Christ returned, the baptised would be ready and worthy of entry.

Baptism by force was entirely invalid. On several occasions Gregory the Great admonished bishops for abusing the sacrament:

> For those who disagree with the Christian religion one must join to the unity of faith by means of clemency, kindness, warning and persuasion, so that those whom the charm of preaching and the unseen terror of future judgement could have induced to believe might not be repelled by threats and fears.[34]

More specifically, forced baptism of Jews led Gregory to write to the bishops of Marseilles and Arles:

> Many Jews have been led to the baptismal font through the use of force rather than by preaching…unless the sufficient support of Holy Scripture follows this same intention I fear that nothing worthwhile will proceed from it…when anyone approaches the baptismal font under duress he returns to his earlier superstition.' However, 'frequent preaching' [and the] 'pleasantness of their instructor' would encourage the soul of the convert and it would not be driven to its erstwhile vomit.[35]

Representation of the baptism of *Synagoga* is rare indeed, but Herrad included it in the *Hortus Deliciarum*, fol.167*v*. Although it is missing in the known copy, Green has indicated that it can be reconstructed from the baptism of an Ethiopian woman **(Fig. 27)**.[36] The inscription that accompanied the baptism of *Synagoga* was, *Ista persona significat sinagogam*, *id est conventum Judeorum*. *Isti ministrant baptizate persone*. *Petrus baptizat primitivam ecclesiam de synagoga electorum*.[37] That it is Peter who baptises *Synagoga* is an indication of the importance of *Synagoga*'s salvation: only Peter, the 'Rock' on whose foundation the Church was built, and who held the keys to the kingdom was worthy to administer to *Synagoga* (Matthew, 16.18). Such special treatment of *Synagoga* was exceptional but by contrast, away from the seclusion of Herrad's convent, on a twelfth-century baptismal font in the church of St. Peter in Southrop *Synagoga* is scorned by her most revered patriarch, Moses **(Fig. 28)**.

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[34] Gregory, *Epistulae* 1.34 (to Bishop Terracina) quoted by Cohen, *Living Letters*, p. 75.

[35] Cohen, *Living Letters*, p. 76.

[36] Fol.199*r* Green, *Hortus Deliciarum*, p. 180 (Commentary).

[37] Translation: This character signifies the synagogue, which is the 'convent' of Jews. These people minister to the baptised person. Peter baptises the first church from the synagogue of the elect.

The font depicts the battle between the Virtues and Vices, the former represented as soldiers, the latter variously as dragons and humans. The names of the Vices are incised backwards, as an apotropaic safeguard. Moses is represented with standard attributes: horns and the tablets of the Law. *Synagoga* is on his left side. Her eyes are obscured by the flag that surmounts her broken standard. Moses, giver of the Law, father of *Synagoga* and of *Ecclesia*, turns his back on *Synagoga*, his elder daughter (as she does on Christ) and turns towards *Ecclesia*.[38] Thus Moses acknowledges the New Covenant as the fulfilment of that made between himself and Yahweh. The repudiation of *Synagoga* on the Southrop font is compelling. Within the small space on the vessel of salvation, the perception of *Synagoga*'s status in relation to that of *Ecclesia* is expressed with startling economy. *Synagoga* has nobody to whom she can turn, for even her 'father' has renounced her in favour of *Ecclesia* and Christ's New Dispensation.

But however much it made an impression as representation, the fact of baptism, even when freely accepted, was not always the answer to salvation, at least not on an everyday basis. In a letter to Prior Ernulf and Archdeacon William, Anselm expressed concern for the converted Jew, Robert:

> do not let him and his little family suffer any harsh want, but let him rejoice that he has passed from perfidy to the true faith, and prove by our piety that our faith is nearer to God than the Jewish…For I would prefer, if necessary, that there should be spent in this all that belongs to me from the rents of the archdeaconry, and even much more, rather than that he who has fled out of the hands of the devil to the servants of God should live in misery among us.[39]

Unwittingly, Anselm indicates that Jewish converts to Christianity might not always have been made welcome by their new brethren. But for a faith that was built upon

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[38] C.S. Drake, *The Romanesque Fonts of Northern Europe and Scandinavia*, Woodbridge, 2002, p.18.

[39] Epistle III, CXVII, quoted in J. Jacobs, *The Jews of Angevin England*: *Documents and Records*, London, 1893, p. 12.

the conversion of Jews, medieval Christians became suspicious of Jews who, of their own choosing, wanted to convert.[40] Unlike circumcision, there was no physical indication of baptism. Those people who appear on the right of Christ in Last Judgement scenes are there by virtue of baptism and because they have lived a virtuous life. The big problem was that only in exceptional circumstances would Jews take the first step towards salvation and be baptised. In this way, their 'Jewishness' would be washed away and they would be entitled to the same blessings as Christians, the greatest of which was a place in heaven, a distinction that was visualised in the two-page illustration to the *Song of Songs* in the Bamberg Commentaries *c*.1000 **(Fig. 29)**.[41] The scene includes a Crucifixion, the final sacrifice that made possible the salvation of all. *Ecclesia* offers her chalice that contains the blood of the Redeemer to a female figure standing next to her and there is the suggestion that she will in turn, pass it to the other people who have formed a long line from St. Peter by whom they have been baptised.

Baptised or not, representations of the Last Judgement were designed to instil the fear of the Lord into all who saw them. Excepting those in private manuscripts (which, as observed preceded those in surviving monumental settings), the representations of the Last Judgement which began to emerge in the closing decades of the eleventh century were inescapably public; designed to convey the inevitability of what would take place after death without distinction of rank or occupation. They were constructed in and around church portals, strategic sites for reminders, and a metaphorical gate to Paradise: 'I am the door; if any one enters by me he will be saved' (John. 10.9). As Mâle would have it, 'the scenes of the Last Judgement carved

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[40] J. M. Elukin, 'The Discovery of the Self,' in M. A. Signer and J. Van Engen (eds.), *Jews and Christians in Twelfth-Century Europe*, Notre Dame, 2001, pp. 63-76.

[41] Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, MS Bibl. 22, fol. 4 *v* and fol. 5, H. Mayr-Harting, *Ottonian Book Illumination*: *an Historical Study*, London, 1991, 2, p. 44, colour pls. 3 and 4.

on the portals of cathedrals stirred people more deeply than we can now imagine, and they regarded them not without anxiety.'[42] And, as J.J.G. Alexander commented, 'visual messages were hammered home by their iconographical similarity until they were taken for granted and thus became an unquestioned part of everyday experience.'[43]

France was well served: Beaulieu, Mâcon, Autun, Conques, St-Denis, and Chartres are but a few. In England there remain around 70 wall paintings that are related to the Last Judgement.[44] On the west wall of Saints Peter and Paul at Chaldon in Surrey, the 'doom' painting includes a ladder and a bridge, both of which are frequently encountered in medieval accounts of the journey of the soul **(Fig. 30)**. In biblical times, the source is the story of Jacob's ladder in Genesis, 28.10-22, adapted in the third-century *Vision of Perpetua*, visualised in St. Catherine's monastery on Mount Sinai and in The *Hortus Deliciarum*.

The ubiquity of Last Judgement scenes registers the determination of the Church to indoctrinate the faithful in matters concerning the life of the soul after death, and according to its precepts beforehand. Last Judgement imagery challenged the faithful as they entered to hear mass. Sometimes there were reminders too as churchgoers left to return to the world with all its temptations. The late eleventh-century Last Judgement fresco in Sant Angelo in Formis and the twelfth-century mosaic in the cathedral of Santa Maria Assunta in Torcello were imposing reminders as churchgoers left the buildings **(Figs. 31-32)**. Inside or out, scenes of the Last

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[42] Mâle, *Religious Art in France*: *Thirteenth Century* p.351. Warnings were not confined exclusively to the sculptural artistry of cathedrals and large churches: visions of Hell experienced by 'eye-witnesses' were not wanting. In particular, see *Drythelm*'s *Vision* (late seventh century) in E. Gardner (ed.), *Visions of Heaven and Hell Before Dante*, New York, 1989, pp. 57-63 and (mid. twelfth century) *Tundale*'s *Vision*, pp. 149-195.

[43] J.J.G. Alexander, 'Iconology and Ideology: Uncovering Social Meanings in Medieval Christian Art,' *Studies in Iconography*, 15 (1993), pp 1-14.

[44] A. Caiger-Smith, *English Medieval Mural Paintings*, Oxford, 1963, p. 31.

Judgement were finely tuned to warn people of the ‘wages of sin’ and to encourage right living while still on earth. There was no escaping the realities of reward and punishment. Then as now, appetite for the creation and reception of horror allowed patrons and designers opportunities to devise abominations of Hell that would be remembered for, as Sauerländer observed, ‘distorted forms and menacing inscriptions’ characterised Last Judgement imagery.[45] Vivid as it was, Last Judgement imagery may not have always been entirely successful. Some in ‘high’ society might need to have it spelled out:

> When they reached the porch of the church [Fontevrault] and were about to enter, there was over it a representation of the Last Judgement showing the separation of the elect from the damned, a magnificent example of the human sculptor’s art. The bishop [St. Hugh of Lincoln] led the count [Prince John] who was so soon to be a king, to the left side of the Judge where there were kings in full regalia amongst the damned, about to hear the words, ‘go ye cursed into everlasting fire.’ These were being carried off, by their tormentors into hell. The bishop then said, fix your mind always on their howls and perpetual torment, and let your heart dwell upon their unceasing punishment… he also said that such sculptures or pictures were at the entrances to churches for a very good reason, namely that those about to enter and pray to God in their need, should understand what would be their last and final extremity and so would pray for forgiveness for their sins. By such prayers they would be secure from torment and enjoy everlasting happiness.[46]

St. Hugh was concerned lest John would follow the kings to everlasting fire and was anxious that unless John could govern himself, he would hardly be fit to govern his subjects justly. All the same, it might be wondered whether John had become indifferent to Last Judgement programmes, given the many reminders he would have seen.

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[45] Sauerländer, *Gothic Sculpture*, 1972, p. 30.

[46] *Adam of Eynsham*, *Magna vita Sancta Hugonis*, D. Dowie and D. Farmer (eds.), Vol. 2, p. 141, Oxford, 1963.

Variety was important for the effect to be memorable and this was increasingly realised. So (for example) the resurrection of the dead is an element of the Last Judgement that was not included in every case, at least not in the same manner. In the Gospel pericopes of Henry II there is a scene of the dead rising energetically from their coffins but otherwise not distinguished **(Fig. 32)**.[47] The Last Judgement mosaic on the interior west wall at Torcello represents scenes of body parts eaten by animals, now regurgitated and restored to life when the angels sound their trumpets: nobody would be spared the final reckoning **(Fig. 33)**. Sometimes the Damned were chained together as at Rheims and Paris, and their subjugation to devils provided even more frisson for viewers **(Fig. 35)**.

The figure of Christ also varied. Sometimes (as at Beaulieu and St-Denis) Christ extends his arms to show his wounds, while at Conques his right hand points upward as if to indicate that the saved will go to heaven while his left points downwards, to indicate hell. This composition may emphasise two actions: Christ as self-sacrificing Redeemer and Christ as vengeful Judge. It is generally agreed that the Conques Last Judgement depicts the entrance to Hell through the mouth of Leviathan on a monumental scale for the first time, reflecting the description in Job, 41.7: ‘who dares open the gates of his mouth? Terror reigns round his teeth.’ Although representing the gate of Hell, this monster is kept behind closed doors in order to emphasise the terror it embodies **(Fig. 35)**.[48] JM comment here can’t make it out.

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[47] *c*. 1002-14, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. 4452, f. 201*v*. Mayr-Harting, *Ottonian Book Illumination*, 1 pp. 179-202.

[48] There is no consensus for the dating of the Conques tympanum. J. Williams has suggested a date of *c*. 1105 based on a capital in the chapel of St. Nicholas at Santiago that was dedicated in 1105. The capital shows a man with his neck in a noose that is tightened by a devil. The devil’s grip is strengthened by pressing one of his feet against the post of the gallows. Williams compared the scene with a detail of the Conques Last Judgement**.** The scene is very similar, although at Conques the hanged man is bearded and has a purse around his neck, a snake around his legs and feet, a frog beneath his toes. The similarities between the two scenes inclined Williams to proffer the same date for both thus rejecting P. Deschamp’s date for the Conques scene as 1120-30. See J. Williams, ‘Framing

And, if Mâle is right, 'thousands upon thousand of pilgrims [*en route* to Compostela] had earnestly gazed at this portal, pointing out each detail.'[49] Details of the destruction of Jews preoccupied Lambert, a secular canon of St. Omer. After eight years of careful attention to what he fancied his readers wanted to know, Lambert completed his *Liber Floridus*, a compendium of knowledge in the encyclopaedic tradition in 1122.[50]

Synagoga in extremis

The *Liber Floridus* comprises 289 folios and deals with many subjects in the encyclopaedic tradition. Unlike most of the manuscripts discussed here, the work was not primarily intended for religious or clerics but for a lay readership in 'high' society. Nine copies are extant which suggests that it was in demand among those who consulted it. Lambert's family included high-ranking ecclesiastics and 'civil servants' some of whom were among his many readers. Thus while access was still the privilege of the minority of those who could read, the *Liber* would have had a different circulation than texts produced in monastic scriptoria and consequently would have had a more varied dissemination. As with most encyclopaedic compilations, chronological lists and genealogical trees were a feature of Lambert's arrangement. The *Liber*'s *genealogies* were a vital aspect of authenticating lineage. The inclusion of maps and diagrams of the zodiac and planetary bodies was typical of the encyclopaedic tradition and Lambert made copious references to the findings of Bede, Macrobius and Martianus Capella.

Santiago,' in C. Hourihane, (ed.), *Romanesque Art and Thought in the Twelfth Century*, *Essays in Honour of Walter Cahn*, Princeton, New Jersey, 2008, pp. 219-238.

[49] Mâle, *Religious Art in France*, *thirteenth century*, p. 415.

[50] The original manuscript survives in the University Library in Ghent (Ms. 92) where it has been since 1818. Chapters 10-13 are missing from Lambert's original though they are known from other copies. See especially, D. J. Williams, *The Illustrations in the Liber Floridus*: *Ghent University Library MS. 92*, M.Phil.Dissertation, University of East Anglia, Norwich, 1992.

For the purposes of this discussion the most relevant scene in the *Liber* is of Christ on the Mount of Olives with *Ecclesia* and *Synagoga* on fol. 53*r* **(Fig. 35)**. The page is divided into two registers, the lower of which is reserved for the genealogy of Christ according to Luke, 3.23-38. The scene in the upper register is dominated by the figure of Christ on the Mount of Olives, a place of great significance for the concept of Judgement:

> I shall gather all the nations to Jerusalem for battle. The city will be taken, the houses plundered, the women ravished. Then Yahweh will sally out and fight those nations as once he fought on the day of battle. When that day comes, his feet will rest on the Mount of Olives and the Mount of Olives will be split in half from east to west, forming a huge valley; the valley between the hills will be filled in (Zechariah, 14.1-5).

Matthew 24.3 mentions the Mount of Olives as the place where the disciples questioned Jesus about the end of the world. In response, Jesus described the tribulation of Jerusalem in the last days and warned of the dangers of un-preparedness in the parables of the Wise and Foolish Virgins and of the Talents. While neither of these is specifically cited in any of Lambert's inscriptions, they help to confirm the eschatological significance of the Mount of Olives. Visually, the summit of a hill also has the effect of heightening the glorification of the Resurrection, the victory of the Church triumphant and her mission to make disciples of all nations. The absence of any obvious sign of the wounds of the Passion also enhances the sense of recovery and regeneration.

Ecclesia stands at Christ's right beside a baptismal font. *Synagoga* stands close to a Hell mouth or Leviathan. This concept of the place of punishment as a ferocious mouth was to become a persistent aspect of ecclesiastical art particularly in scenes of the Last Judgement, but Lambert's is the earliest known representation of

Synagoga in such a situation. Her crown hovers in mid-air; a motif that was also introduced by Lambert and which later became (in certain contexts) almost a standard element of *Synagoga*'s attributes. The situation of the crown heightens the drama: if *Synagoga* accepts baptism, Christ will place the crown on her head. If she does not, the crown will fall.

Whereas the Tablets of the Law are often shown shattered on the ground, *Synagoga*'s crown, even when it falls is not broken. Moreover, there was a precedent for broken tablets (Exodus, 32.19), but not for a broken crown. *Synagoga* does not share the same ground as Christ and *Ecclesia*, and this is another obvious aspect of her exclusion and peril. She tries to avoid falling, her body faces the Hell mouth, but she looks back at Christ and *Ecclesia* and the large baptismal font, the vessel of salvation. *Synagoga* must decide between baptism and death much as did the Rhineland Jews when the crusaders arrived in 1096, as Lambert well knew.

The baptismal font is necessarily larger than the Hell mouth: life in Christ has greater power than the throes of Hell. There is an inscription above the font: *Fons patens ecclesie omnibus in ablutionem peccatorum omnium baptisterium*.[51] The inscription above *Synagoga* spells out her destiny: *Synagoga Christum Dei filium abnegans*, *prophetis incredula*, *recedens a Deo*, *corona deposita*, *uexillo confracto*, *ad infernam properans*.[52] The words recall Augustine's exposition of Psalm 45: (the royal wedding song). 'The queen stands on your right but she that stands on your left is no queen, for she is the one to whom it is said, ''Go forth from me into eternal fire.''[53] This is evidently what Lambert had in mind.

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[51] Translation: The open font of the Church is the baptistery for washing all sins from the people.
[52] Translation: Synagogue, denying Christ the Son of God, not believing the prophets, moving away from God, relieved of her crown, with her banner broken, is falling into Hell with haste.
[53] Augustine, Exposition of Psalm 45, New Advent, http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/1801045.htm.

Lambert's hostility to *Synagoga* is supported by the location of the image of *Synagoga* within the *Liber*: Isidore's *De fide catholica contra Iudaeos* precedes it. *De Fide* is a treatise in two books whose preface included the claim 'that the authority of the prophets may strengthen the grace of faith, and show the ignorance of the unbelieving Jews.'[54] Broadly speaking, the treatise deals with the relationship of Judaism to Christianity and follows many of Augustine's pronouncements on the Old Testament. Although Isidore's approach derives from Augustine's commentary on Psalm 59, 'slay them not' (as did most if not all later contributions on the subject of the Jews), his attitude to the Jews is contrary to that of Augustine. That the Jews were to provide a service of witness for Christianity is evidently the crux of Augustine's exposition and accounts for the subsequent 'tolerance' of their faith but it is not supported by Isidore in *De Fide*.

Isidore's hostility to the Jews is also demonstrated by his influence on the Fourth Council of Toledo of 633, over which he presided and which, among other things, recommended that Jewish children be reared apart from their parents and taken to monasteries to be educated.[55] Obviously inconsistent with Augustine, this policy presents little evidence of any conciliatory approach which was evident at Worcester and St-Denis and in at least some of the twelfth-century analyses of the *Song of Songs* to be discussed below. Isidore's estimation of the Jews left little hope of salvation and the inclusion of *De fide* in the *Liber* suggests that Lambert and Isidore were of like mind as far as the Jews were concerned.

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[54] Williams, *Adversus Judaeos*, p. 282.

[55] B.S. Albert, 'Isidore of Seville: His Attitude towards Judaism and His impact on Early Medieval Canon Law.' *Jewish Quarterly Review*, 80 (1990), pp. 207-220.

Indeed as P. C. Mayo has shown, Lambert 'interpreted' one of his sources to the detriment of Jews: 'Lambert produced a highly personal version of historical fact that might be called 'literary license' in his 'adaptation' of the Jewish historian Josephus.' Mayo continued, 'Lambert adds the astounding information that [following the invasion of Jerusalem in C.E. 70] Titus ordered all of the surviving males castrated both in Jerusalem and in the surrounding provinces, with the intention of exterminating the Jewish race.' As Mayo says, 'the precise source of Lambert's version of the cataclysmic end of the Jewish race is not easily pinned down.'[56]

More evidence of Lambert's anti-Jewish animus is the two preceding images, namely the *arbor bona* and the *arbor mala* on folios 231*v*-232 *r*: the 'good' tree, *Ecclesia* and the 'bad' tree, *Synagoga* **(Figs. 36-37)**.[57] The trees reflect the sentiments of Psalm 1:

> Such a one is like a tree planted near streams; it bears fruit in season and its leaves never wither, and every project succeeds. How different the wicked, how different!

In Lambert's image, the *Arbor bona Ecclesia*, *quae est Regina a dextris Dei* (the good tree *Ecclesia* who is queen at the right of God) accommodates the virtues in her lustrous branches, and the leaves are fed by *Caritas*, mother of all virtues, whose roots extend into the fertile soil. Each virtue takes the face of a woman and interacts with the others; the virtues look out for one another. Colourful flowers and petals

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[56] P. S. Mayo, 'The Crusaders under the Palm,' *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 27 (1973), pp. 31-67. Nonetheless, it raises a question mark over Lambert's integrity and exposes him as one who would interfere with his sources to suit his own agenda: to immortalise the contribution made by those of his hometown in the conquest of Jerusalem in 1099.

[57] Tree symbolism is widely distributed in religious imagery as a means of representing good and evil, fertility and sterility, life and death. In the Judaeo-Christian tradition the theme probably originated in Genesis, 3.1-13 where 'the woman' defied her Creator by eating the fruit of the forbidden tree resulting in the Fall of mankind, whose redemption in the Christian tradition through the *lignum vitae* was brought about by Christ. In his letter to the Romans, Paul uses tree imagery to great advantage to support the priority of the Jews: 'if the root is holy so are the branches…it is not you that sustains the root but the root that sustains you' (11.16-24).

abound and there is no doubt as to the fecundity and exuberance of this flourishing tree, the Church.

By contrast, the *arbor mala* is infested with evil. Vices are named and exposed within separate red circles and are implicated with *Synagoga*, whose name is also inscribed in red on the top right of the image.[58] *Desperatio*, *Ira*, *Dissensio*, *Luxuria*, *Immunditia*, *Iniustitia*, *Homicidium*, *Simulatio*, *Fornicatio*, *Rixa*, *Invidia*, and *Contentio* are the fruits of this tree, and the sense of ruin resonates with Matthew (21.18): 'how is it that the fig tree withered instantly?' Lambert's *arbor mala* is equally doomed. Two axes laid at the root of this colourless, God-forsaken tree indicate its final destruction, which is matched by *Synagoga*'s. A sense of doom and extinction prevail. The threat of extermination that pervades the *arbor mala* was 'written in stone' at Amiens. Here, on the central portal of the west façade, the Wise and Foolish Virgin stand above trees. That of the Foolish Virgin is severed by an axe **(Fig. 38)**.[59]

Away from Lambert's visualisation, were real Jews in the path of Godfrey of Bouillon who also faced extinction if, like *Synagoga*, they resisted baptism. Godfrey of Bouillon was a wealthy landowner, a fellow countryman of Lambert and hero of the First Crusade. Godfrey's was among the first of the contingents to set off for Jerusalem in 1096. Lambert was keen to glorify Godfrey's efforts to secure Jerusalem and the Holy Sepulchre, which Godfrey did, albeit for a short period while he was its defender. Godfrey's military prowess was celebrated by Lambert and his readers, but of Solomon bar Simson's opinion of Godfrey they could not have cared less:

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[58] See especially, Katzenellenbogen, *Allegories* p. 65.

[59] Mâle, *Religious Art*: *Thirteenth Century*, p. 390.

> Duke Godfrey arose in the hardness of his spirit, driven by a spirit of wantonness to go with those journeying to the profane shrine…avenging the blood of the crucified one by shedding Jewish blood and completely eradicating any trace of those bearing the name 'Jew' thus assuaging his own burning wrath…the Jews of Cologne nevertheless bribed him with five hundred *zekukim* of silver, as did the Jews of Mainz.[60]

Lambert was proud of the contribution made by his country to the success of the first crusade. That he glorified Godfrey of Bouillon's effort is evident inasmuch as he was included in Lambert's account of Flemish history. In Book 1, fol. 1. *v*. Godfrey is included in the list of the Counts of Flanders as the King of Jerusalem.[61] As Williams has pointed out, Godfrey's relief of Jerusalem inaugurated the seventh age of man, that of bliss.[62] And, As Harry Bober has stated, 'the encyclopaedia was created by Lambert to give Flanders and Saint-Omer its deserved place in world history through the fame of Godfrey of Bouillon and the importance of Flanders in the First Crusade.'[63] The recovery of Jerusalem had cost the lives of unknowable numbers of Christians and was one of the greatest military achievements of the Church: the sanctified violence that made martyrs of many. But all would see God; their baptism had ensured it and Lambert was less concerned with the martyrs than he was with the Jews. Their conversion was the driving force behind his portrayal of *Synagoga*.

Lambert's representation of *Synagoga* emphasised baptism as the only means of avoiding damnation. Since *Synagoga* is a mere abstraction that neither salvation

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[60] Eidelberg, *The Jews and the Crusaders*, p. 6. See also J. Riley-Smith, 'The First Crusade and the Jews,' in, W. Sheils (ed.), *Persecution and Toleration*, *Studies in Church History*, 21 (1984), pp. 51-72; J. Parkes, *The Jew in the Medieval Community*: *A study of his Political and Economic Situation*, 2nd edition, New York, 1976.

[61] See R. C. Van Caenegem, 'Sources of Flemish History,' in A. Derolez (ed.), *Liber Floridus Colloquium*, Ghent, 1973, p. 83.

[62] Williams, *The Illustrations in the Liber Floridus*, p. 81.

[63] H. Bober, 'Structure and Content of the Imagery of the *Liber Floridus*,' in *Liber Floridus Colloquium*, ed. A. Derolez, Ghent, 1973, p.19.

nor destruction can actually affect, Lambert's *Synagoga* is effectively a surrogate for the Jews who refuse baptism. The Jews' ancestors, the Israelites, had already experienced salvation by water when God redeemed them from slavery, and they passed through the Red Sea to escape the Egyptians (Exodus, 13.17-15-21). However, as Paul explained, 'our ancestors...were all baptised into Moses... 'God was not pleased with most of them and their corpses were scattered over the desert' (1 Corinthians, 10.4-5). This 'baptism' was imperfect and only that which John administered to Christ would please God.

The implication implicit in *Synagoga*'s refusal to be baptised was tantamount to saying that Jews refuse to please God, for which, as has been demonstrated, they were massacred and were omitted from representations of the Saved at the Last Judgement. Baptism was the minimum requirement for salvation and Lambert's portrayal of *Synagoga* was unequivocal: a visual endorsement of the plight of the Rhineland Jews. Whereas (with or without persuasion) the salvation of the Jews had always been the hope of the Church, since the first crusade and the imminent threat of the Antichrist, the hope increased. Although visual support for the salvation of the Jews has been negligible, in their commentaries on the *Song of Songs* John of Ford and Honorius Augustodunensis expressed their hopes for the return of the Jews.

The Salvation of *Synagoga* in the *Song of Songs*

Of the twelfth-century exegeses of the *Song of Songs*, two that are positive about the salvation of *Synagoga* are John of Ford's *Sermons on the Final Verses of the Song of Songs*, and Honorius Augostodunensis's *Sigillum Beatae Mariae* and *Expositio in Cantica Canticorum*. John, abbot of the Cistercian monastery of Ford from 1191, began his sermons in 1172 following the death of Gilbert of Hoyland, whose commentary was a continuation of the sermons of Bernard of Clairvaux. Bernard had written his sermons as far as *Song* 3.1 when he died in 1153. Gilbert of Hoyland continued until *Song* of *Songs*, 5.9, and it fell to John of Ford to complete the work, which he did in 120 sermons, some of which express concern for *Synagoga*'s reconciliation to Christ and her final salvation.

Sermons 62, 64, and 95 include the most apposite references (of varying lengths) to the return of the Jews. One detailed account is in Sermon 62 in which John responds to *Song* 6.12 'Return, return O Sulamitess: return, that we may behold you.'[64] As John points out, this calls to mind Abishag, the Shulamite maiden, who kept David warm (1Kings, 1.3) and although John acknowledges the historical element of the narrative, he develops it to reveal its eschatological significance.

> The chilly old age of King David, which could not be warmed by clothing, is an unmistakeable portent of the state of the Christian faith at the end of time. Christ, the true David, speaks openly of the coldness of those times, when he declares: Because wickedness is multiplied, most men's love will grow cold.

He envisages that

> When those days come, there will still be some who are faithful to our Lord, our 'King David'...and no other recourse will be found except to seek out for him the most beautiful maiden in the whole of Israel...what maiden is this? It is the people of Israel, whose first husband, God, will take thought to himself remembering his youth, as Jeremiah says, I remembered you pitying your youth ... [Jeremiah, 2.2] and then our maiden Israel will hear from all sides the reverent voices of those who delight to see her: they will say, 'Return, return, O Shulamite, return that we may gaze upon you.

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[64] *John of Ford*: *Sermons on the Final Verses of the Song of Songs*, W. M. Beckett (trans.), Kalamazoo, 1983, 5, pp. 1-4.

By envisaging 'the manifold return of the *Synagoga* to belief in Christ, and how universal joy is felt at her returning, and how great will be the result of this change of heart' John is sympathetic:

> Poor little maid, the wind of God's anger blew on her in the past, and she was scattered over the whole countryside, but, as it says in scripture: 'he who scattered Israel will gather him' [Jeremiah, 31.10]. So, coming back from the four corners of the earth, Israel will find the church of the gentiles waiting ...so that the ark of the Lord may be borne into Jerusalem.[65]

John urges the Shulamite to return:

> Zion, your mother, awaits you, the church of the patriarchs and prophets, the whole assembly of your forefathers…last of all, your most beloved spouse, remembering no more your past unfriendliness, opens wide to embrace you in the arms which he stretched out on the cross.

Sermon 95 presents a repentant *Synagoga* and she pleads with the Judge to be merciful:

> If, before your judgement seat, not one of my fathers, not one of the sons I bore, dare stretch out to me a helping hand, there is still your mercy and your truth.... if Moses should call heaven and earth to bear witness against me, and both should rise to condemn, your mercy and truth would be able to release me from their sentence...so let mercy and truth come to meet each other, running happily to meet me, and there will be nothing for me to fear, even when I stand in your awesome presence... I have been written from the beginning on the palm of my Lord's hands. So I have an unshakeable faith in my complete reconciliation.

The idea that *Synagoga* would wish 'complete reconciliation' was unthinkable as far as Lambert was concerned. In contrast to those of continental Europe, English Christians had had little experience of Jews as neighbours whereas in France, for

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[65] John's description of *Synagoga* as 'maid' is nevertheless an indication of subservience.

example, there had been Jewish settlements for over 1,000 years.[66] The *Gesta Regum Anglorum* of William of Malmesbury (iv. 317) indicates that Jews from Rouen followed William the Conqueror in 1066.[67] Gradually they established settlements in various towns among which; Exeter, Winchester, Canterbury, Oxford, Gloucester, Colchester, Sudbury, Cambridge, Northampton, Worcester, Coventry, Huntingdon, King's Lynn, Norwich, York.[68] In 1290 the Jews were expelled by an edict of Edward I.

Up to the 1144 death in Norwich of William, a skinner's apprentice, (which, about 6 years later was imputed to Jews), it is hard to find evidence of an anti-Jewish animus, befitting 'a persecuting society' in England. Just over a generation after his death, 'miracles' attributed to William were recorded, and his 'martyrdom' attracted a following, a cumulative process that was undoubtedly fed by the 'facts' of his death when written up: *The Life and Miracles of St. William of Norwich* by Thomas of Monmouth, a Benedictine monk in 1172 or 1173.[69] Thomas of Monmouth's accusation of William's murder, against the Jews of Norwich was followed by the first of many allegations that Jews crucified boys around the time of Passover, although in the case of William there is nothing to indicate that his blood was used for ritual purposes.[70] Accusations of the same offence were levelled at Jews in Gloucester in 1168, Bury St. Edmunds in 1181, Winchester in 1192 and again in Norwich in 1235.[71]

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[66] J. R. Markus, *The Jew in the Medieval World*, *A Source Book*, New York, 1983, p. 24.
[67] *William of Malmesbury*, *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, R. Mynors (ed. and trans.), Oxford, 1998, 2, p. 281.
[68] Michael Palomino, *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 6 (England), 1971 http://www.geschichteinchronologie.ch/eu/GB/EncJud_juden-in-England01-mittelalter-ENGL.html
[69] M.R. James and A. Jessop, *The Life and Miracles of St. William of Norwich*, Cambridge, 1896, *passim*.
[70] C. Roth, *A History of the Jews in England*, Oxford, 1949, p. 13.
[71] Moore, *Formation*, p. 36.

John of Ford's compassionate approach to the reconciliation of Jew and Christian that is evident in his sermons on the *Song of Songs*, was written in the context of actual disturbances between them, although to what extent he may have been personally aware of these is difficult to ascertain. Even supposing he spent most of his life in south-west England it is unlikely that John was ignorant of the atrocities experienced by Jews elsewhere in England at the hands of his fellow countrymen: in London, following the coronation of Richard 1 in 1189, when some 30 Jews were burned. Nearer home: Kings Lynn, Norwich, and Bury St. Edmunds also witnessed atrocities against Jews. In York 1190, about a year before John became Abbot of Ford, many Jews were massacred and other took their own lives rather than accept baptism.[72]

Bernard of Clairvaux's *Letter to the English People* of September 1146, was probably also known to John even though John only a child when the letter was written. Still, Bernard's canonisation by Alexander III in 1174 doubtless took account of Bernard's effort to save Jews from the persecution of his fellow-monk, during the second crusade in 1145-8. Bernard's letter to the English people was essentially a rallying call to the English to support the second crusade and it included a reminder of Augustine's exposition of Psalm 59: 'do not destroy them' no doubt prompted by the scenes of violence that had been a familiar aspect of the first crusade, but perhaps later, also to those in Norwich following the death of William.[73]

Honorius: the Return of the Jews at the end of time

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[72] R.B. Dobson, *The Jews of Medieval York and the Massacre of March 1190*, York, 2002, pp. 27-28.
[73] *Bernard of Clairvaux*, *Letters*, B. S. James (trans.), 1998, pp. 460-463.

During his travels in England, Honorius visited the West Country and Canterbury, where he was influenced by Anselm, whose writings he later circulated in Germany and the Empire.[74] Honorius was a prolific writer, completing twenty-two major and ten minor treatises read mainly by Benedictines. Of his works, the most relevant to this discussion are the two commentaries on the *Song of Songs*: the *Sigillum Beatae Mariae* and *Expositio in Cantica Canticorum*. The *Sigillum* which seeks to explain the significance of the Assumption of the Virgin and expounds the Canticle of Canticles is the earlier and was written around 1100 in (probably) Worcester, at roughly the same time as the cycle of paintings in the vault of the chapterhouse was completed.[75] To what extent Honorius was aware of the reconciliatory theme of the cycle is not known. However, it is useful to recall that the unveiling of *Synagoga* and her recognition of *Ecclesia* as Bride in bay nine was of great significance to the designer. The *Expositio in Cantica Canticorum* was the last of Honorius's major works, some aspects of which were discussed in Chapter 2. For now, the focus now is on The *Sigillum*, and is followed by the *Expositio in Cantica Canticorum* and how Honorius expressed concern for the salvation of *Synagoga*. Of *Song* 6.12 ('return, return') he wrote:

> O Sulamite, already so long captive to the devil, return through faith to the mysteries of Christ. Return through hope, return through the love of God and neighbour, return through works, that they who are already in Christ may behold you, imitating your words and deeds.[76]

Honorius's reflection on the relationship between *Synagoga* and *Ecclesia* arises from *Song* 8.5: 'I awakened you under the apple tree, where your mother conceived you.' A brief preface summarises Honorius's response:

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[74] V.I.J. Flint, *Honorius Augustodunensis of Regensburg*, Aldershot, 1995, *passim*.

[75] V.I.J. Flint, 'The Commentaries of Honorius Augostodunensis on the Song of Songs,' *Revue Bénédictine*, 84 (1974), pp. 196-211.

[76] *Honorius*, *Sigillum Beatae Mariae* (*Seal of Blessed Mary*), (A. Carr, trans.), Toronto 1991, p. 77.

‘The son recounts to his Mother the wickedness of the Jews and alludes to their future conversion.’ Honorius was aware:

> *Synagoga* cursed herself with her own mouth when she said: *His blood be upon us and on our children* (Matthew, 27.25)… but now, however, because with all their heart they turn to me, I say to them… just as formerly they deserved death because of their infidelity, now let them find life because of their love.

Another brief preface explains Honorius’s faith in the Virgin’s intercession following *Song* Chapter 5. There follows the solicitude of the Virgin for the Church of the Jews:

> The Virgin speaks: ‘our sister *Synagoga* … is little and has no breasts, that is, she has no preachers… what shall we do to our sister in the day when she is to be spoken to?’ [77]

In response, the Virgin promises Christ that she will be the wall (the foundation) for *Synagoga* to build upon, and that they (the Jews) will be safe in her care. There is no question but that Jews and gentiles will share the benefits of the Virgin’s intercession and that both will be redeemed. But as Jeremy Cohen has explained, Honorius’s *Expositio in Cantica Canticorum* expresses an aspect of the Jews’ salvation that is unprecedented. The Jews *will* be saved at the end of time not, as Paul envisaged (after ‘the fullness of the gentiles should come in’ Romans, 11.25) but before.[78]

As noted in Chapter 2 Honorius’s exegesis is ‘quaternal.’ Honorius has not one but four brides to strengthen his argument for the universal authority of and the pre-existence of the Church. Ann Matter concluded that ‘the Church, the bride of Christ of whom the poem sings, is gathered from the four corners of the world north,

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[77] Honorius, *Sigillum*, 1991, pp. 83-4.

[78] J.Cohen, ‘*Synagoga conversa*: Honorius Augustodunensis, the Song of Songs, and Christianity’s ‘‘Eschatological Jew,’’’ Speculum, 79 (2004), pp. 309-340.

south, east and west by the Evangelists, into the wedding bed of the bridegroom.'[79] The brides also represent the four ages, through which the marriage of the bride and groom must pass, namely *ante legem*, *sub lege*, *sub gratia*, and *sub Antichristo*. This emphasis on the omniscience of the Church is one of the distinguishing features of Honorius's exposition.[80]

Honorius's four brides, or more accurately, the Bride that is the Church has four aspects. Two are 'real.' They are the daughter of Pharaoh and the daughter of the King of Babylon. For Honorius, the most important bride is the Shunamite / *Synagoga* (who comes form the west in the Quadriga of Aminadab). The Shunamite / *Synagoga* will defeat the fourth bride: Antichrist at the end of time. The crucial verses of the *Song* from which Honorius extrapolates his conclusions are *Song*, 6.10-7.10 of which a brief account follows, based on Cohen's translation.

Song, 6.10, 'I went down into the garden of nuts' is spoken by the Shunamite. (The Garden of nuts is Judea). She has gone there because Christ had been previously but was crucified. Now, the Shunamite / *Synagoga* declares her remorse: 'I knew not: my soul troubled me for the chariots of Aminadab' (*Song*, 6.10). The chariots of Aminadab represent the gospels. The Shunamite had no idea that the gospels were asking her to replace circumcision with baptism, and now, full of shame for her previous carnal appetites, she goes to leave. But, she is called back by the Daughters of Jerusalem: 'Return, return... return, return that we may behold thee...'

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[79] Matter, *Voice*, p.63.

[80] But, 'the little we know of the exegetical preoccupations of the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries, of those of Anselm and Ralph of Laon and of the early history of the *Glossa Ordinaria*, suggests that Honorius's biblical interests here coincided with those of his immediate predecessors and contemporaries.' Flint, '*The Commentaries*,' p. 205.

The four 'returns' of the Daughters of Jerusalem suggests the calling of the four gospels: Shunamite / *Synagoga* must return from the four corners of the world. She does. Then (6.12) Christ declares his congratulations and praise for her: 'what will you see in the Shunamite but the companies of camps?' This is mysterious but as Honorius has it that the 'companies of camps' is the battle scene that is the Antichrist defeated by the Shunamite. The Jews, not the Christians will see off the great threat to Christ. (Compare with the *Ludus*). In the verses that follow: vv.7.1-13 'the joins of thy thighs...thy nave is like a round bowl...thy neck a tower of ivory' are all the praises that Christ lavishes not on the Bride / *Ecclesia* but on the Bride / Shulamite-*Synagoga*.

Hence it is the case that *Synagoga conversa* means that Israel will repent, ask to be included in the plan of salvation *before* the expected reign of Antichrist, will defeat him, and Christ will restore *Synagoga* to her previous honour and she will thereafter be a role model for Christendom in the fight against evil. So brief an account of Honorius's vision has concentrated on his affection for the Jews and hope of their salvation but it must be noted that *Synagoga* gets this special treatment only because she repents and accepts the invitation to return.

The inclusion of the Jews in the plan of salvation is visualised in Honorius's Commentary on the *Song of Songs* **(Fig. 39)**[81] The Shulamite / *Synagoga* rides in the chariot that is the Church, led by Christ. She is followed by a group of Jews. All travel in the direction of an image of the sun shielding his face, perhaps to indicate the end of time when all would be saved, the final exaltation of Christ and his Church.

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[81] The Return of the Shunamite, Honorius Augustodunensis, *Expositio in Cantica Canticorum*, MS. 29, fol. 89*v*.

So in Honorius's scheme, *Synagoga* would no longer be treated as an outcast for her 'sinful' past but would be united with Christ and his Church, *Ecclesia*. Honorius aspired to the harmony expressed in the Worcester chapterhouse where the unveiling of *Synagoga* indicated that she could see the meaning of the Incarnation and the salvific death and resurrection of Christ. But unconventional as it is in relation to other *Song of Songs* exegeses, Honorius's plan for *Synagoga conversa* is, of course, a statement of salvation, with conditions.

Conclusion

The Chapter has demonstrated the capacity of imagery to impart warnings and rewards for compliance to the teaching of the Church. The character, purpose and ubiquity of Last Judgement imagery of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries did not necessarily speak for itself or to a comprehending audience but the vast expense of installing programmes meant that the Church wanted a return for the expense incurred. That the Bishop of Lincoln 'spelled it out' for Prince John at Fontevrault suggests that the imagery itself might not be entirely successful until commentary was given, which was one of the jobs of the priest, given his competence to do so.

Scenes of the Last Judgement routinely installed in churches did not, despite scriptural assurance of the salvation of Jews, represent them unless in Hell, as in the *Hortus Deliciarum* and on the Wilten paten, where they were there for no reason other than that they were Jews. Lambert of Omer expressed his hostility to Jews through *Synagoga*, but his attentiveness to Isidore of Seville's anti-Jewish animus suggests that his unprecedented visualisation of malevolence towards *Synagoga* was in fact directed at Jews themselves. Lambert's portrayal of *Synagoga* walking away from the ‘open font of the Church’ reiterated the urgency of baptism as a condition of salvation and also the fate of those Jews who were massacred during the first crusade.

Prior to the installation of monumental Last Judgement scenes, those in manuscript illumination were available to a limited audience: monks, religious and lay clerics. To the extent that large-scale sculptural apocalyptic scenes were a warning that Christ would come again, they had, in many areas of France, been precursors of Last Judgement scenes, but they were largely designed to celebrate Christ in Majesty with the Elders of the Apocalypse. The identification of sin and sinners was therefore not a major element in such programmes. Last Judgement imagery subsequently paraded sinners in such a way as to make it obvious what their sin amounted to and viewers were able to recognise themselves or somebody they knew: a lustful woman, a simonaic, a miser, a sodomite.

Hence, a guilt mentality was encouraged, accompanied by fear of exposure and consequent persecution if not now, then in the hereafter. Consciousness of guilt that was promoted by Last Judgement imagery was designed to keep the daily life of the faithful within approved limits while boosting the power of the priest. Following Christ’s appointment of Peter as the foundation of his Church, (Matthew, 16.19), the power to forgive sins was invested in them and, following the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215, it was enjoined upon the faithful to confess their sins and to receive Holy Communion at least once a year or be cast out here and hereafter.[82] Those who did hoped to be invited to join God in his heavenly kingdom. Jews need not apply.

Beginning with Suger’s Last Judgement programme at St-Denis, representations of the Wise and Foolish Virgins became an element of Last

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[82] Moore, *Formation*, p. 6.

Judgement scenes. The Virgins provided an unambiguous statement of the necessity of preparedness for the second coming of Christ, the Bridegroom. The Wise Virgins were allowed to celebrate with him, the Foolish were shut out: ‘I do not know you’ (Matthew, 25.12). Hence, the association of the Wise with the Blessed and the Foolish with the Damned became familiar. In several instances *Ecclesia* and *Synagoga* became symbols of ‘in’ and ‘out’ groups of society.

What had begun as a representation of a parable was realised as the exclusion of real Jews. *Synagoga–Ecclesia* portal statuary intensified the element of defeat and victory, the beginning of which was seen in the illustration in Odbert’s gospel discussed in Chapter 3. *Synagoga*’s bowed head and broken standard informed the faithful that *Ecclesia* was the victor in a long and systematic claim to supremacy over Judaism and Jewry. The central portal of Notre-Dame in Paris linked the Wise and Foolish Virgins to *Ecclesia* and *Synagoga*. No longer personifications of the two covenants, but now of victory and defeat in a prolonged war of words, images and lives. At Paris and St.-Seurin, Bordeaux, *Synagoga*’s ‘blindness’ is indicated by a serpent around her eyes, linking her to the Fall of Man, the oldest sins perpetuating her fault from the beginning.

Whereas some elements of Last Judgement representations, such as the weighing of souls, would be known to Jewish viewers, Jews are not identifiable among those for whom the balance was favourable. That a few of the twelfth-century commentaries on the *Song of Songs* from the west of England assure the salvation of the Jews is an indication of some regional differences in attitudes to their salvation. However, unlike the Last Judgement programmes discussed above, neither John of Ford nor Honorius was likely to attract the attention of people at large but Bernard rarely missed the opportunity for an audience and while his sermons were not intended ‘for the world’ his attitude to Jews often displays disturbing hostility:

> The Synagogue is in darkness still, enduring the pangs of hunger and disease, and she will neither be healed nor have her fill until she discovers that my Jesus rules over Jacob to the ends of the earth, until she comes in the evening, hungering like a dog and prowling about the city.[83]

From the time of the first crusade, many European Jewries actually experienced the revilement of their religion by crusaders and Christian leaders, and conceptually, by the most effective agent of aspersion: *Synagoga*.

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[83] Bernard of Clairvaux, *Sermons on the Song of Songs*, 1, Sermon 15, p.112.

Conclusion

This dissertation set out to explore how far attitudes towards the Jews during the Central Middle Ages, particularly anti-semitism were registered in representations of *Synagoga*. For the purposes of the dissertation, 'anti-semitism' is understood as hostility towards Jews. Put another way, it asks the question 'how far does *Synagoga* represent Judaism?' At one level an answer can be formulated with regard to her almost invariable partner: *Ecclesia*. That parallel suggests that *Ecclesia* should represent not the Church but Christianity that is not a community of belief but the doctrine itself. *Synagoga* is thus ostensibly not about people, yet as has been demonstrated throughout, attitudes to the personification shift more or less in line with attitudes to the Jews themselves; the abstraction can not be isolated from the prejudice that impacted on Jewish communities.

Synagoga was created from a variety of sources; her creators were familiar with the tradition of personifying abstract concepts. The ubiquity and capacity of personification was demonstrated with reference to biblical and classical texts. Three perennially influential examples: the *Psychomachia* of Prudentius, the *De Consolatione Philosophiae* of Boethius and Martianus Capella's *De Nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* show the versatility of personification and its value as a tool of understanding abstract, often difficult concepts. Prudentius juxtaposed opposites; for every virtue there was a vice and the manner of contrasting and comparing 'good' and 'evil' embedded in the *Psychomachia* are reflected in the *Synagoga–Ecclesia* duality: darkness and light, matter and spirit, law and grace, life and death. Ultimately, the goal of the *Psychomachia* was to impart a sense of hope, one of the three theological virtues expounded by Paul (1Corinthians, 13). Hope in Christ is a weapon against the dark forces of human nature which Christians believe are overcome by faith in him, faith unknown to *Synagoga*.

Like Boethius's *Fortuna*, *Synagoga* is inconsistent and unpredictable and cannot be relied upon to be steadfast. Unlike those of *Ecclesia*, *Synagoga*'s role and her attributes are various and changed on an *ad hoc* basis. The Carolingian ivories' representation of *Synagoga* shows that she is disrespectful of the dying Christ. This element of conflict between *Synagoga* and *Ecclesia* becomes more apparent by the early eleventh century as exemplified in Odbert's Gospel image where *Synagoga*'s lowered standard indicates not only spiritual but also defeat in what had become a military war of supremacy.

The research has shown that attitudes to Jews and Judaism were frequently ambivalent, the causes of which are complex; some derive from Christ, from St. Paul and from the early Fathers of the Church. As an exemplar of orthodoxy Augustine's authority is universally acknowledged and yet his derisory conclusion to the linguistic derivation of 'Synagogue' reveals a contemptible attitude to Jews: 'properly we say 'synagogue' of Jews, but Church of Christians, because a 'congregation' is wont to be understood as rather of beasts, but convocation as rather of men.' Moreover, Augustine's exegesis of Psalm 59.11 ('slay them not') regards the continued existence of Jews in terms of expedience; the useful commemoration of what happened during the time of Christ's ministry. The presence of Jews throughout the world (the consequence of Diaspora) is a way of advancing the spread of the gospel. As long as there are Jews to be converted the 'truth' of the gospel must be taken to them. To destroy them defeats this missionary priority. Far from accepting Judaism and its adherents as a separate and divinely ordained institution, Augustine's attitude promotes ideas of Jews as mere witnesses to the truth of Christianity; truth they fail to understand although, according to Paul, they will at the second coming of Christ when they will all be converted.

St. Paul's pronouncement (Galatians, 4.24) on the relationship between Hagar and Sara authorised the allegorical interpretation of events in the Old Testament especially to establish the priority of the Church. Paul's conclusion: that Hagar and Sara represented the two covenants encouraged thinking around other dualities. The antenatal enmity between Esau and Jacob, and the idea that one would serve the other, also contributed to the theme of election and rejection which permeated the *Synagoga–Ecclesia* theme. The narrative of Vashti and Esther also resonated with the rejection of the disobedient *Synagoga* and the establishment of *Ecclesia*. *Synagoga*'s repudiation as Bride of the Lord had consistently pejorative implications and was explored in several disparaging images. *Synagoga*'s 'adultery' and Israel's whoring described by Hosea and Jeremiah were in actuality the problems of monarchs too. Therefore *Synagoga*'s infidelity was less of an abstraction and more of a reflection of current social and political realities in which Jews were identified.

Bernard of Clairvaux was steeped in the wisdom of the early Fathers; his authority and reputation influenced the highest orders of the Church particularly during the second crusade when he prevented the monk, Radulf, from annihilating Jews, many of whom were grateful to him.[1] But like that of Augustine, Bernard's motive was concerned less with humanitarian principles than with the fulfilment of Psalm 59 and with Paul's assertion that the Jews would be saved once the gentiles had

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[1] Eidelberg, *Jews and Crusaders*, p.122.

all been converted (Romans 11.25-27). Bernard wanted to spare the Jews from the threat of extinction so that they could be baptised later thus demonstrating the triumph of Christianity, the fulfilment of Hebrew scripture and the culmination of salvation history, the prerogative of Christianity. Unbeknown to the grateful Jews, Bernard's quip on Isaiah, 1.3 ('the ox knows its owner and the donkey its master's crib') was (he imagined) ideally suited to 'dumb' Jews: 'See, Jew, I am kinder to you than your own prophet. I have put you on a level with beasts, he sets you below them' (Sermons on *Song* of *Songs* 60.5).

Bernard's ambivalence was a microcosm of that of the Church. Judaism and Jewry presented a conflict of interest. In part, this owed its origin to the Pauline concept of justification by faith (as opposed to the Law) and the Anselmian formula of the necessity of faith as a prelude to understanding but also to Bernard's sense of his own importance. Patrons and designers of manuscripts and ecclesiastical vessels expressed the 'inferiority' of *Synagoga* to elevate what the Church perceived to be her status as the 'New Israel,' a concept that was often also addressed in *Adversus Judaeos* tracts which were never wanting. From Justin Martyr's the *Dialogue with Trypho* in the second century to Isidore of Seville's *De Fide Catholica* in the early seventh, until and beyond Peter the Venerable's *Tractatus Adversus Judaeorum*, Jews were castigated for their objections to the fundamental tenets of Christianity: the Virgin birth, Crucifixion and Resurrection of Christ.

That *Ecclesia* was the fulfilment of scripture was demonstrated by reading the Hebrew Bible 'correctly' which occupied theologians and exegetes to the extent that the Hebrew Bible was combed for evidence of those events and people therein that were believed to foreshadow those in the New Testament. *Synagoga* was unable to accept such evidence: she lacked the capacity for Reason (a vital aspect of logic so crucial to the Liberal Arts) and was therefore akin to those brute creatures which were frequently her attribute and which also associated her with sacrifice no longer acceptable to God.

Discussion and analysis of *Synagoga* in Crucifixion imagery has shown how *Synagoga* became the repository of hostile attitudes to Jews on an unprecedented scale. Whereas *Synagoga*'s reputation as the unfaithful wife degraded her and encouraged blame and censure, supporting attributes did not symbolise the measure of vilification to the extent of those of Crucifixion scenes. The process of alienation was staggered and tentative as demonstrated by the Carolingian ivories and the Uta Codex. It is conceivable that the level of hostility that was registered in *Synagoga* by the attribution of the instruments of the Passion might have developed without any particular influence. However, the first crusade provided a catalyst for those who blamed Jews for the death of Christ to retaliate and kill Jews, despite the time and distance that separated them from the source of the allegation. The designers of the Cloisters Cross portrayed *Synagoga* killing the Lamb in ways that show that Jews hated Christ to the extent that they would destroy even their own deliverance and salvation. Here also, the masterly arrangement of passages of Jewish scripture was appropriated as evidence for *Synagoga*'s prosecution and demonstrates the potency of word and image in an anti-Semitic campaign.

The first crusade initiated by Urban II in 1095 was to have been, a 'holy war,' a military campaign against Moslem atrocities in and around the Holy Land. Against Urban's advice many people, infused with the exhilaration that frequently accompanies religious zeal followed Peter the Hermit and set off for the Holy Land in advance of Urban's advised schedule. They were ill-prepared and they floundered. Others who had listened to and believed and taken literally the rhetoric of their influential lords and masters injured and killed hundreds of Jews who lived in towns *en route* to the Holy Land. I argued that rumour and innuendo concerning the Antichrist and the Parousia may have generated such atrocities. Christ would come when the Jews were converted. Crusaders fearing the End forcibly baptised Jews before going on to rescue Jerusalem from Moslem control. Rather than submit, many Jews in the Rhineland killed members of their families before killing themselves.

One way of distinguishing *Synagoga* as an outsider was by means of the *judenhut*, a visible if fleeting means of representing her as a contemporary element of medieval society. Jews wore the *judenhut* because it had become through various manifestations, the head covering of choice for men. When, as in the Essen Missal Crucifixion *Synagoga* wears the *judenhut*, she is effectively lifted out of the realm of abstraction into one of actuality and she becomes a surrogate for contemporary Jewry: still held responsible for the alleged killing of Christ.

The representation of *Synagoga* in Crucifixion imagery that was produced in the wake of the first crusade shows how responsibility for the Crucifixion was registered in *Synagoga*. Her new attributes: the instruments of the Passion endorse Matthew 27.25: 'his blood be upon us and on our children,' a formula that for centuries had been the appropriate pronouncement when anybody was sentenced to death by stoning. Despite scriptural authority that explained how the intention of the formula had been rescinded ('Parents may not be put to death for their children' Deuteronomy, 24.16); Matthew (who, like John, was particularly hostile to Jews) revived it in his account of the Passion in order to criminalise Jews. The scene of *Synagoga* spearing the Lamb on the Cloisters Cross was particularly vicious.

In contrast to the twelfth century the background to and discussion of the Carolingian Crucifixion ivories revealed that in the ninth century opposition to Jews was less conspicuous than in the High Middle Ages. This was mainly due to the relatively positive relationship between Jews and Christians brought about by the pragmatism of Charlemagne and continued by Louis the Pious. Despite Agobard's protests, Louis encouraged Jews to live according to their customs. Louis allocated a special oath for Jews to swear in court and he appointed an official to look after their rights and interests. So the absence of those attributes that would later be frequently assigned to *Synagoga*: the veil around her eyes, the goat, the blindfold, and the instruments of the Passion, indicates more than a lack of inventiveness in the Carolingian examples. Nevertheless, the ivories are testament to *Synagoga*'s rejection of Christ: she turns her back on the Cross sometimes with her nose in the air. *Synagoga* leaves the scene and even if her departure does not express the antipathy of later Crucifixion images, it may have anticipated it.

Imagery on ecclesiastical objects less sophisticated than the Cloisters Cross provided more evidence of hostility to Jews. Many church vessels were unseen by ordinary church goers but this is not to suggest that the impact of the imagery did not reach them. Images were well-worn tools, the staple of induction and compliance for ecclesiastical hierarchy as well as for lay members. The zeal of the crusaders, the dominance of the Cross and the expectation of the Last Things demonstrate how in representations of the Wise and Foolish Virgins the perceived relationship between *Synagoga* and the rejected attendants might be explained as the triumph of the Church over Jews and their religion: those who had made spiritual preparations according to the rites of the Church would meet Christ but the Jews would be rejected.

Christ's eschatological discourses in the closing chapters of St. Matthew's gospel generated vast and costly programmes of Last Judgement imagery and presented problems of representing *Synagoga*'s place in the final processes of redemption. Such imagery was dominated by artistic imagination since there was little to guide a situation that had yet to come. Here too ambivalence was apparent. Christ's death was the final sacrificial atonement and was offered for the whole of mankind. He had spoken of the punishment that would be meted out to those who had not practised those acts of mercy: feeding the hungry, visiting the sick, burying the dead. *Synagoga*'s exclusion from Paradise was discernable; she was on the side of the devil in the scene of the weighing of souls in the tympanum of Notre Dame of Amiens.

The scene prompted reflection on Christ's tirade against some Pharisees in John, 8.44, 'you are from your father, the devil.' Ideas emanating from the phrase 'synagogue of Satan,' Revelation, 2.9, while possibly a verse that was misunderstood, were prone to the association of *Synagoga* with the devil albeit not *Synagoga* as personification, but as collective noun for those who attend the synagogue.[2] So despite assurances of the Jews' salvation from Isaiah, St. Paul and the author of Revelation, *Synagoga*'s redemption was scarcely alluded to in apocalyptic imagery. If she was included at all her place was among the rejected as is clear from the associations she has with the Foolish Virgins in thirteenth century portal statuary.

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[2] The expression is at the mercy of the nuances of translation: '*Ecce dabo de synagoga satanae*, *qui dicunt se Judaeos*, *et non sunt*, *sed mentiuntur*.' Translation: Behold, I will bring out of the synagogue of Satan, who say they are Jews and are not, but do lie. The criticism forms part of the letter to the Church at Smyrna, Revelation, 2.9-10, 3.9, and is intended for those Jews who refused to acknowledge the veracity of First Testament prophecy and its realisation in Christ. 'True' Jews believed the prophets; those who did not were not Jews but liars and thus formed a synagogue of Satan.

These very public landmarks in the newly-developed urban spaces enabled large numbers of people to gather at the portals for mass and to admire if not always to heed apocalyptic warnings.

As an element of Last Judgement programmes the Wise and Foolish Virgins present a theme that fitted the well-established oppositions of the *Psychomachia* and endorsed the fate of the Saved and the Damned. So also, the portal figures of *Synagoga* and *Ecclesia* stated the power of the Church over Judaism. Without exception *Synagoga* appears with a broken staff, with her head bowed and her eyes blindfold. She is defeated for she will not see the truth of Christianity and its precepts regarding the Incarnation, the saving death and resurrection of Christ, the Messiah. Although some of the statues of *Synagoga* and *Ecclesia* have been restored or removed from their original sites to museums, many remain although in a more secular society viewers may not be as sensitive to the Last Judgement as those for whom the statuary was originally intended.

Art was used by the Church as a tool of conformity and conversion. As personification *Synagoga* was manipulated and exploited to veil reality. But as far as medieval Jewry is concerned art was rarely used in a positive way; a way that encouraged harmony except when this too was dominated by what Christian patrons and designers envisaged. Those examples where *Synagoga* was apparently reconciled to Christ: Suger’s glass, Worcester chapterhouse were expressions of Christian wishful thinking and not what Jews themselves endorsed. Such displays of the triumph of Christianity belong to the mystical speculation of Revelation and would have been patronising to Jews.

Although the dissertation revolves around the distant past, its findings can be applied to the present. In May, 2003 Charles Clarke (then Minister of Education) offended medievalists when the Times Higher Education Supplement reported that he said (to an audience in University College, Worcester), 'I don't mind there being some medievalists around for ornamental purposes, but there is no reason for the state to pay for them' Later Clarke defended his opinion: 'What I have said on a number of occasions, including at Worcester, is that the 'medieval concept' of the university as a community of scholars is only a very limited justification for the state to fund the apparatus of universities. It is the wider social and economic role of universities which justifies more significant state financial support.'

Ironically Clarke's alleged pronouncement created interest in the 'usefulness' of medieval history among those who had perhaps not given the subject much thought while those who dedicate their lives to it thought of nothing more than to put Clarke right. They would all have been be the wiser had Clarke clearly defined what he meant by 'usefulness' but it was left to a spokesman to explain: 'the secretary of state was basically getting at the fact that universities exist to enable the British economy and society to deal with the challenges posed by the increasingly rapid process of global change.'[3]

Mr Clarke would not uncover anything of an ornamental nature here. The research has shown that medieval studies has an incalculable 'usefulness' in as much as it has developed insight into a mindset that harnessed the power of imagery as a means of propagating hostile attitudes towards a minor element of society. Patrons

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[3] Reported by B. Woodward and R. Smithers; The Guardian, May 9th, 2003. Clarke's regard for subjects that have 'clear usefulness' and his disdain of medievalists earned him a charge of 'philistine thug' from Professor G. Evans of Cambridge. That Clarke holds a 'narrow utilitarian view' was the verdict of S. Hunt of the Association of University Teachers http://www.faqs.org/abstracts/Education/Clarke-lays-into-useless-history.

and designers of *Synagoga* and *Ecclesia* imagery applied art in the service of religious intolerance and in ways that encouraged hostility to Jews. Following Innocent's decree of 1215 Jews and Moslems must be distinguished from Christians as 'other.' The means varied: the *rouelle*, the six-pointed star, and the tablets of the Law. Twentieth-century identification of Jews was based on medieval precedents such as the *judenhut* and became a feature of segregation in many parts of Europe with detested repercussions **(Fig. 1)**.

That Pope Benedict still calls for prayer for the 'salvation' of the Jews indicates that the Church remains determined to distinguish Jews as 'other.' Benedict's revision to the old Good Friday petition still implies that the desire for, if not the methods of converting the Jews may not, after all be a thing of the past.[4] So if history has something to do with being wise after the event, it must also be wise before the event; for what has happened, can happen.

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[4] In the *Roman Missal* of 1961, two of the petitions in the Good Friday liturgy are addressed to the Jews: '*Oremus et pro perfidis Judaeis*: *ut Deus et Dominus noster auferat velamen de cordibus eorum*; *ut et ipsi agnoscant Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum*.' Translation: Let us pray also for the faithless Jews: that our Lord God would withdraw the veil from their hearts: that they also may acknowledge our Lord Jesus Christ' and, *Omnipotens sempiterneDeus*, *qui etiamJudaicam perfidiam a tua Misericordia non repellis*: *exaudi preces nostras quas pro illius populi obcaecationedeferimus*; *ut agnita veritatis tuae luce*, *quae Chrictus est*, *a suis tenebris eruantur*. *Per eumdemDominum*. Translation: Almighty and eternal God, who deniest not thy mercy even to the faithless Jews: hear our prayers, which we pour forth for the blindness of this people: that by acknowledging the light of thy truth, which is Christ, they may be brought out of their darkness. Through the same Lord. See *The Roman Missal in Latin and English For Everyday in the Year*, Abbot Cabrol (intro. and notes), London, nd.p.389. In various revisions 'faithless Jews' was amended. However, in February, 2008 Pope Benedict XV1 decreed that the petition be amended again: 'Let us also pray for the Jews, that our Lord and God may illuminate their hearts, that they acknowledge Jesus Christ is the Saviour of all. Almighty and eternal God, who wants that all men be saved and come to the recognition of truth, propitiously grant that even as the fullness of the people enters thy church, all Israel will be saved.' Response to the amendment was swift and plentiful, among which see Christopher A. Ferrara http://www.remnantnewspaper.com/Archives/archive-2008-a_papal_masterstroke.htm

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Introduction

Fig. 1. *Cathedral of Notre Dame*, Strasbourg. South Transept Portal, c. 1230

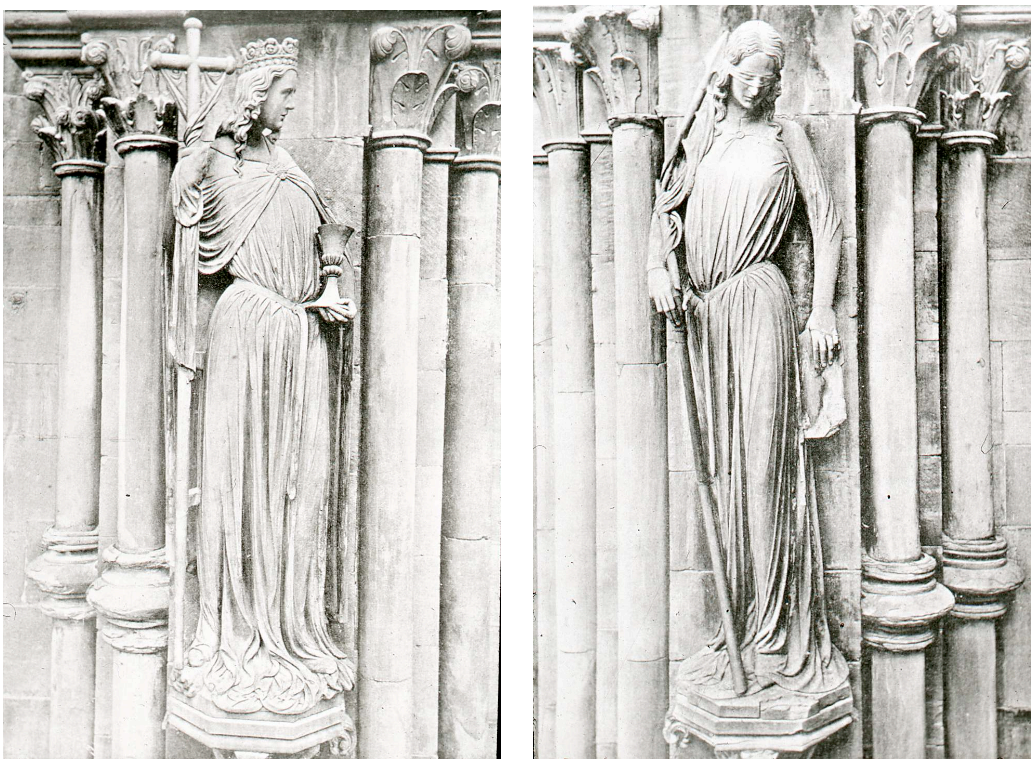


Fig. 2. *Ecclesia* and *Synagoga.* Details as Fig. 1.

Chapter 1: Personification

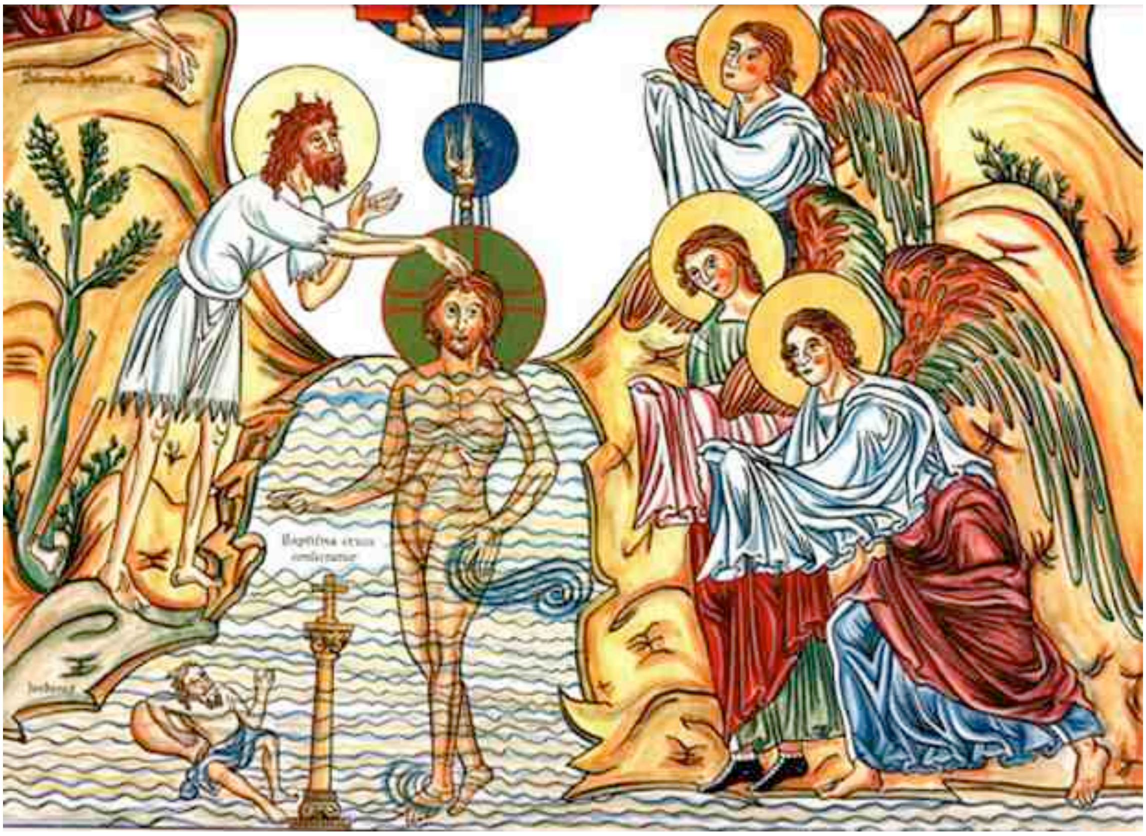


Fig 1. *Baptism of Christ in the River Jordan, the Hortus Deliciarum of Herrad of Hohenbourg,* fol.100, r.

Fig 2. *Community Portrait*, *Hortus Deliciarum*, fol. 322 v.

Fig 3. *Four Parts of Empire offer Homage*, Gospel Book of Otto III, Staatsbibliothek, Munich, fol. 24 r.

Fig 4. *Faith offers the Crown of Victory to the Martyrs*. *Psychomachia* of Prudentius, St Gall, Reichenau or Constance, late ninth century.

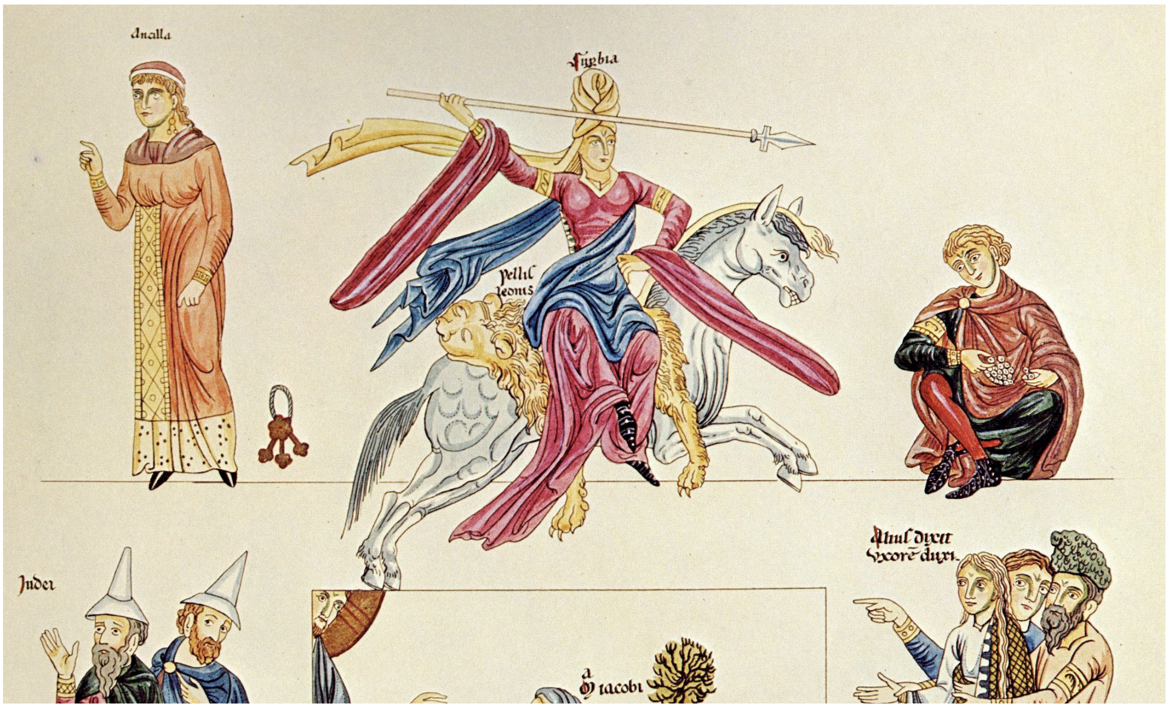


Fig. 5 *Superbia*, Hortus Deliciarum, fol.119, *v*.

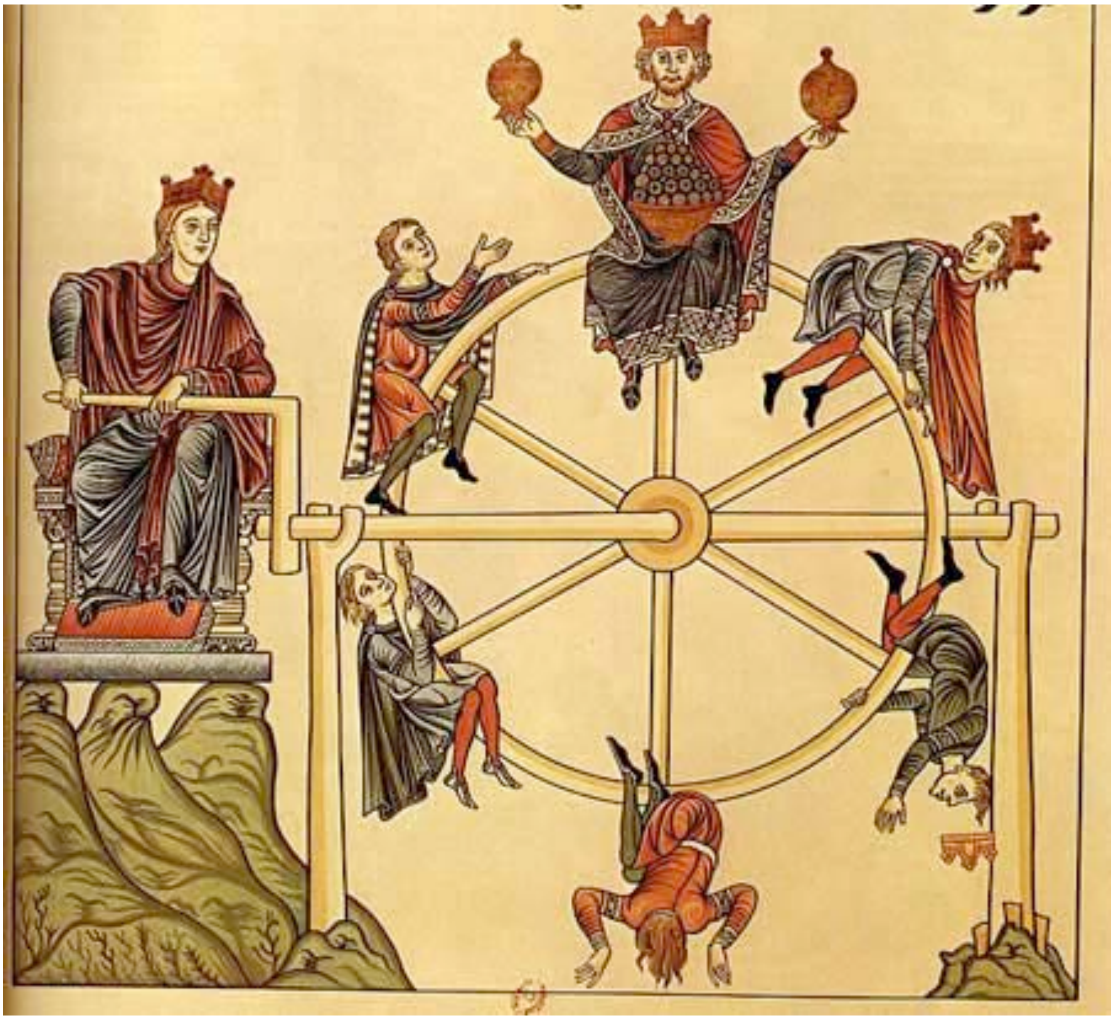


Fig 6. *Wheel of Fortune*, Hortus Deliciarum fol. 215, r.

Fig 7. *Sedes Sapienta,* Liberal Arts, Royal Portal Tympanum, Chartres Cathedral, c.1150.

Chapter 2: Brides of the Lord

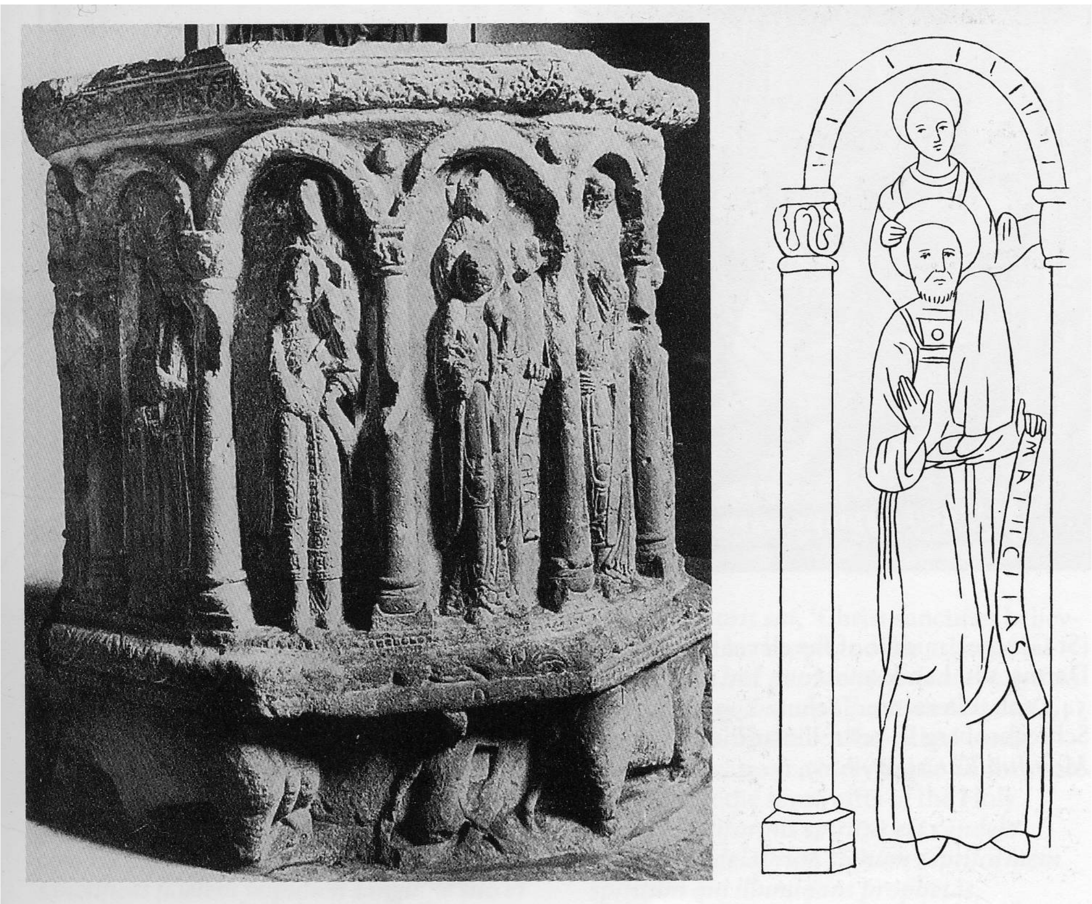


Fig.1. *Apostles raised by Prophets.* Twelfth-century baptismal font, Merseburg Cathedral.

Fig. 2. *Paul banishes Hagar*. Paris, Bibliothèque Ste. Geneviève MS.1180: ‘The Maugier Bible’ fol. 345, *Cat. Gen*., I Bibliothèque Ste. Geneviève, I (Paris, 1898), 541-2.

Fig. 3. *Ecclesia: Creation miniature.* Codex Fr. 9561, fol. 3. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale.

Fig. 4. *The Repudiation of Synagoga, Song of Songs*, Initial ‘O’ (sculetur) Citeaux Bible, 1109, Dijon, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS. 15, fol.50.

Fig. 5. *Esther,* as above, fol. 122 v

Chapter 2: Brides of the Lord

Fig. 6. *Osculetur me*...Montalcino, Bibliothèque Communale, Cod. SS Vol.2 fol. 56r

OSCULETUR ME OSCU
lo oriſ ſui; quia meliora ſunt ubera tua uino & odor un
guentorum tuorum ſuper omnia aromata flagrantia unguen
tiſ optimiſ. Oleum effuſum nomen tuum. ideo adoleſcentule
dilexerunt te. Trahe me poſt te. curremuſ in odore un
guentorum tuorum;

Fig. 7. *O (sculetur) Song of Songs*. Bible of St-Vaast, Arras, Bibliothèque

Fig. 8. *O (sculetur) Song of Songs*. Bible of St. Amand, Valenciennes, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS.10, fol. 113

Fig. 9. *Spona, Sponsus*. Bede, Commentary on the Song of Songs, Cambridge, King’s College, MS. 19, fol. 21 v.

Fig. 10. *Christ and Ecclesia, Enthroned*, mosaic, central apse, Santa Maria Trastevere, Rome, 1148.

Fig. 11. *'Tetrarchs' porphyry sculpture,* Constantinople early 4th Century, brought to Venice, 1204.

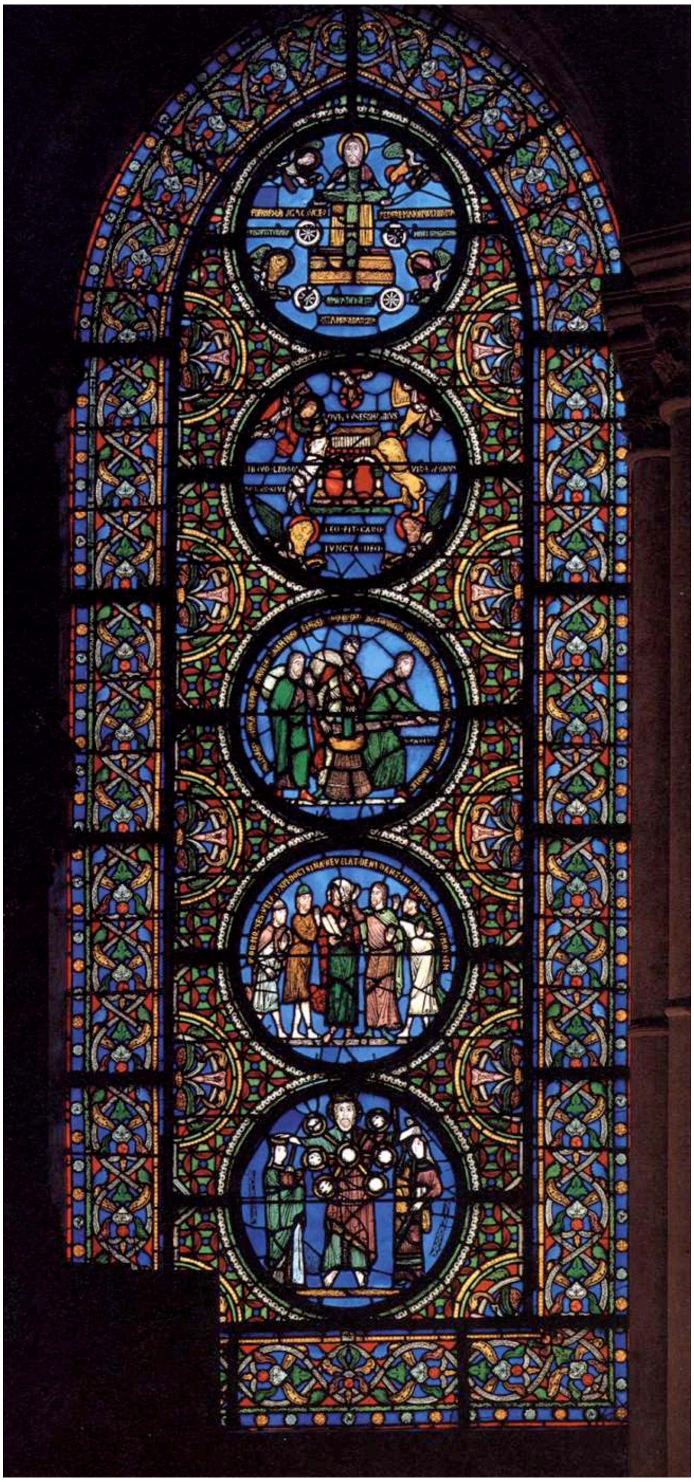


Fig. 12. *The Allegories of St. Paul Window*. St-Denis, 1140-44.

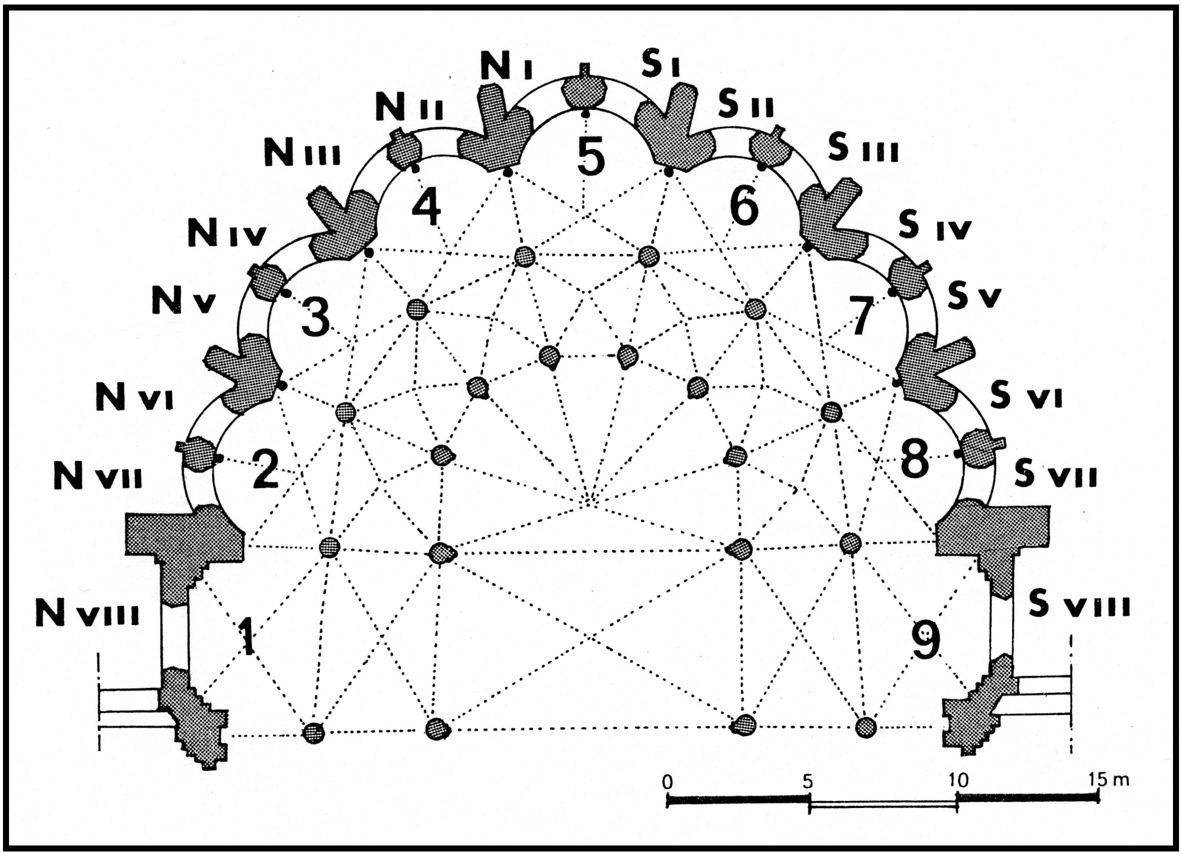


Fig. 13. St-Denis: Schematic plan of chapels in chevet

Fig. 14. *The Unveiling of Synagoga, the Crowning of Ecclesia.*

Fig. 15. *St. Paul, Mystic mill.*

Fig. 16. *The Lion and the Lamb.*

Fig. 17. *The Quadriga of Aminadab.*

Fig. 18. *Tree of Jesse.*

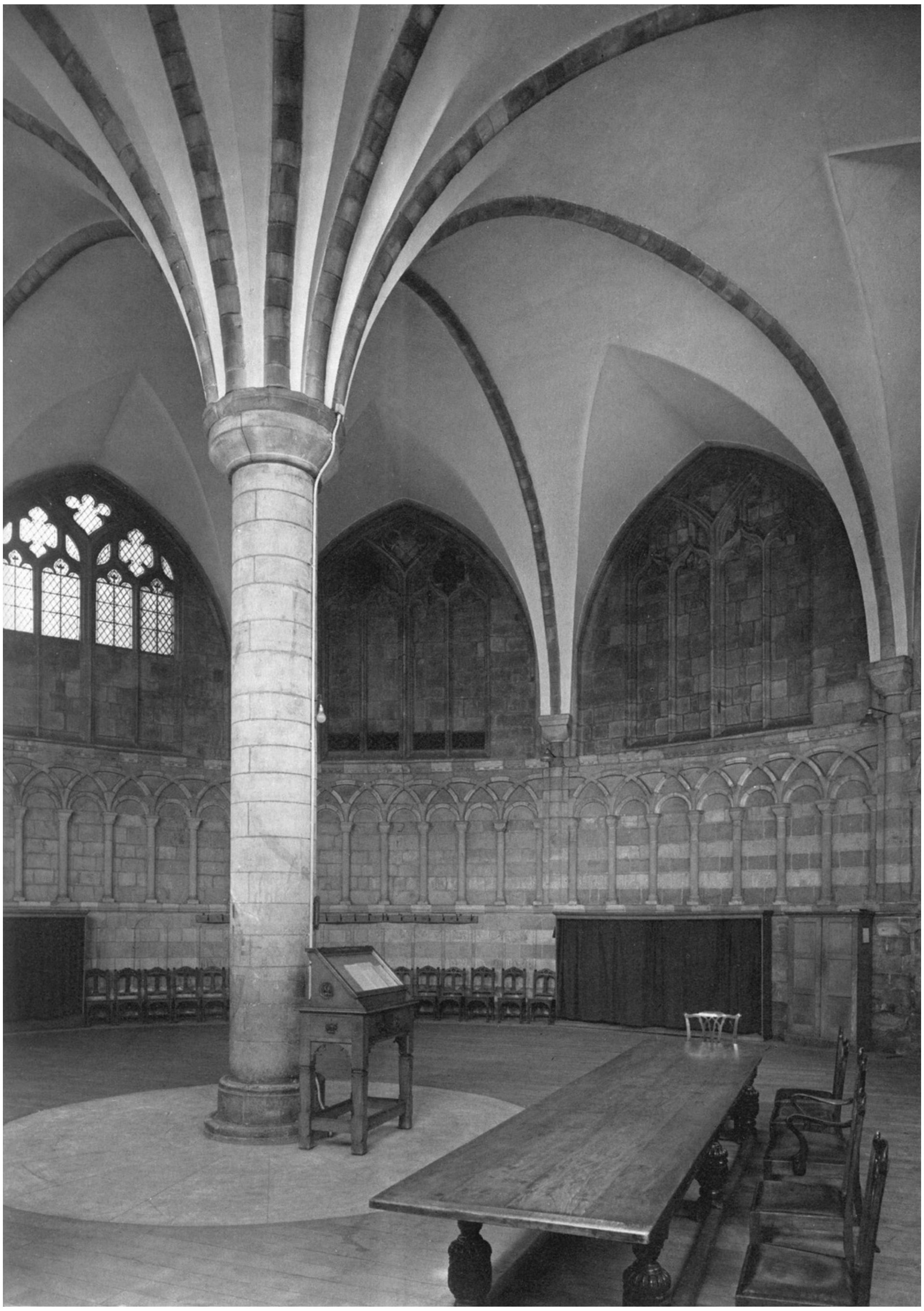


Fig. 19. *Worcester Cathedral chapterhouse.*

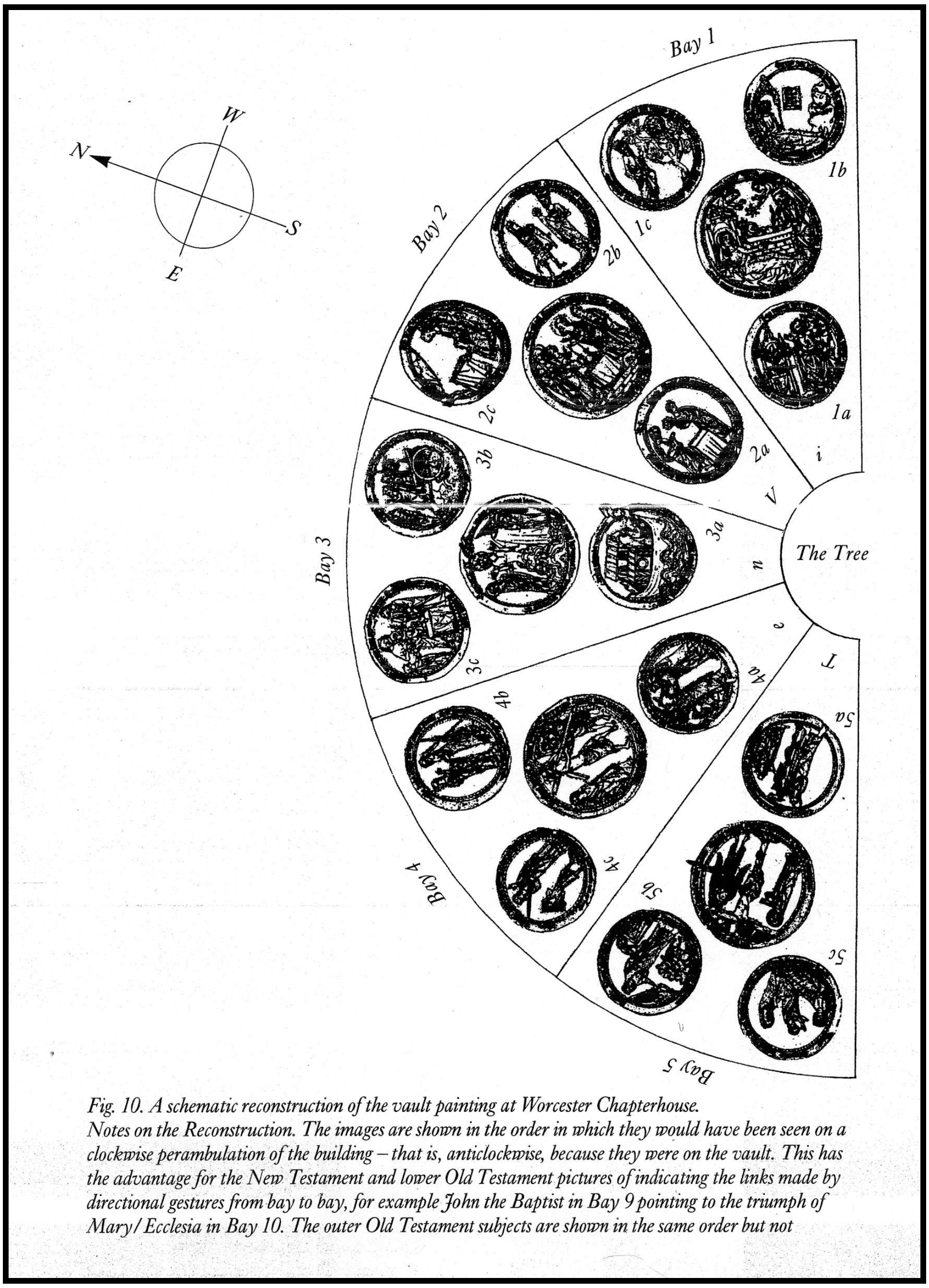
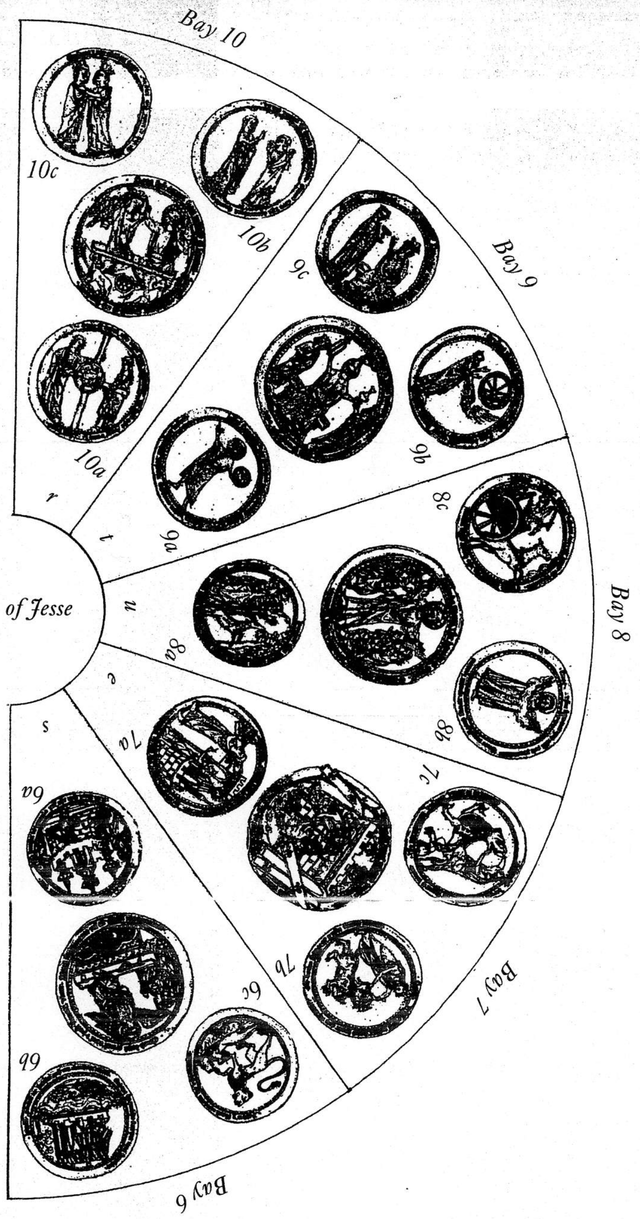


Fig. 10. A schematic reconstruction of the vault painting at Worcester Chapterhouse.
Notes on the Reconstruction. The images are shown in the order in which they would have been seen on a clockwise perambulation of the building – that is, anticlockwise, because they were on the vault. This has the advantage for the New Testament and lower Old Testament pictures of indicating the links made by directional gestures from bay to bay, for example John the Baptist in Bay 9 pointing to the triumph of Mary/Ecclesia in Bay 10. The outer Old Testament subjects are shown in the same order but not

Fig. 20a. *Worcester Cathedral chapterhouse.* Schematic plan of pictorial cycle in vault.



correctly oriented. On the vault itself the figures would have been head to head with the figures in the New Testament pictures, but showing them as though upside down on the diagram would have compromised their legibility. However, for a proper understanding of the sequences, the roundels need to be inverted: Abraham in Bay 4 leads Isaac to his sacrifice in Bay 5. The individual roundels are all based on those in Eton College MS 177, notwithstanding occasional evidence for differences in detail provided by other sources. The numbering and positioning of the roundels is that implied by the Worcester Verses.

Fig. 20b. *Worcester Cathedral chapterhouse*. Schematic plan of pictorial cycle in vault.

Fig. 21. *Bay 10 Marriage and Triumph of the Virgin.*

Fig. 22. *Bay 9 Unveiling and Reconciliation of Synagoga.*

Fig. 23. *Unveiling of Synagoga.* Detail: the tablets of the Law.

Fig. 24. *Boethius Consolation of Philosophy*: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct. F6.5, fol. 7, v.

Fig. 25. *Bay 5 The Crucifixion.*

Chapter 3: The Representation of Synagoga in Crucifixion Imagery.

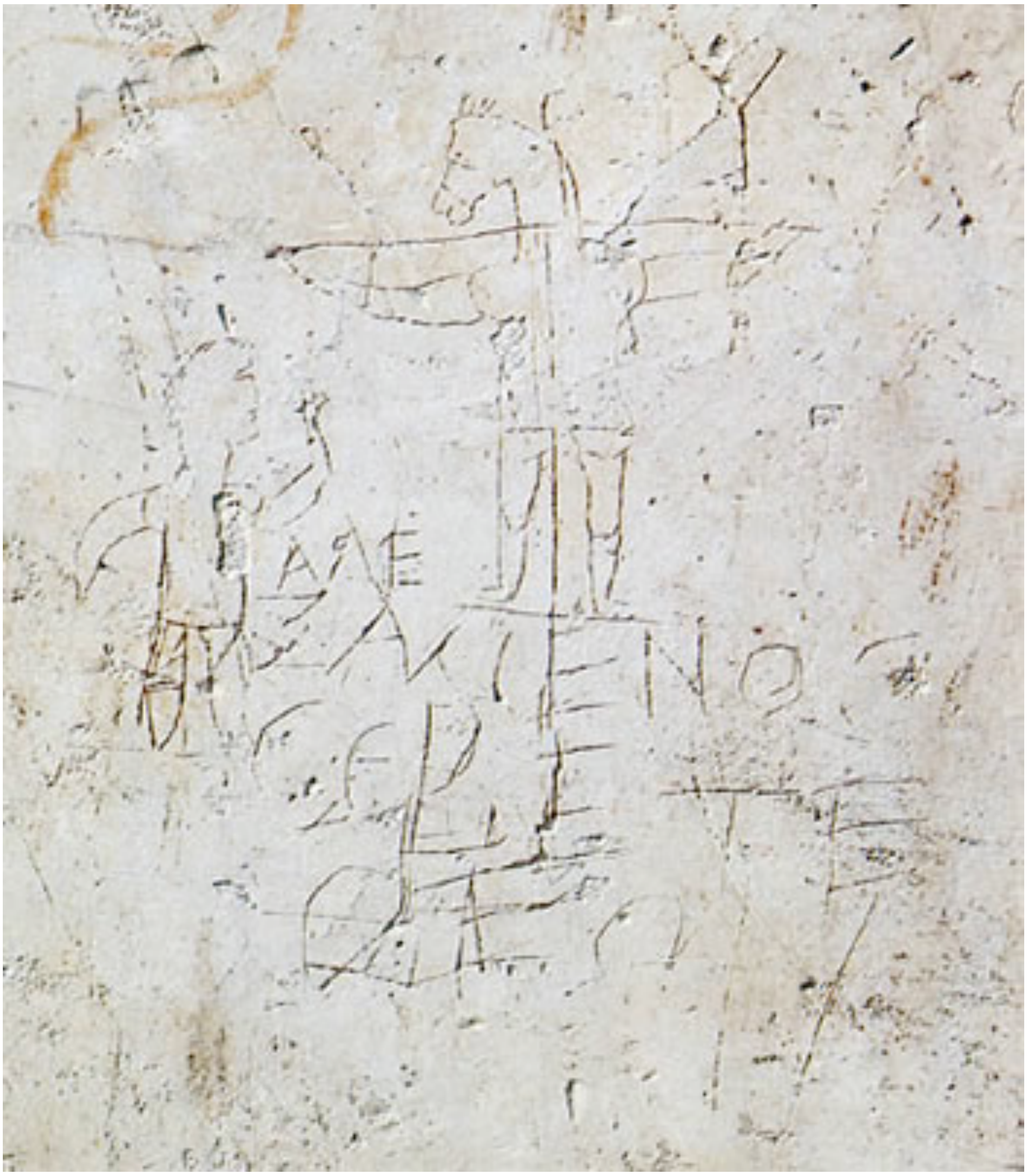


Fig. 1. *Alessameno worships his God*. Second-century graffito, Rome, Palatine Antiquarium, variously dated between first and second centuries.

Fig. 2. *Finding of the True Cross*. Stavelot Triptych, c.1156-8, New York, Pierpont Morgan Library.

Fig. 2a. *Helena questions some Jews*. Detail of above.

Fig. 3. *Cypress wood door*, S. Sabina Rome, consecrated, 432

Fig. 3a.. Door panel Detail of above, *Christ, two thieves*, S. Sabina.

Fig. 4. *Crucifixion, Stephaton and Longinus*. Rabula Gospels, 586 C.E.
Florence, Biblioteca Mediceo Laurenziana, cod, cod. Plut. 1,560.

Fig. 5. *Crucifixion, Stephaton and Longinus*, S. Maria Antiqua, Rome, mid. eighth century.

Fig. 6. *Crucifixion, with gambling barrel*, Utrecht Psalter.

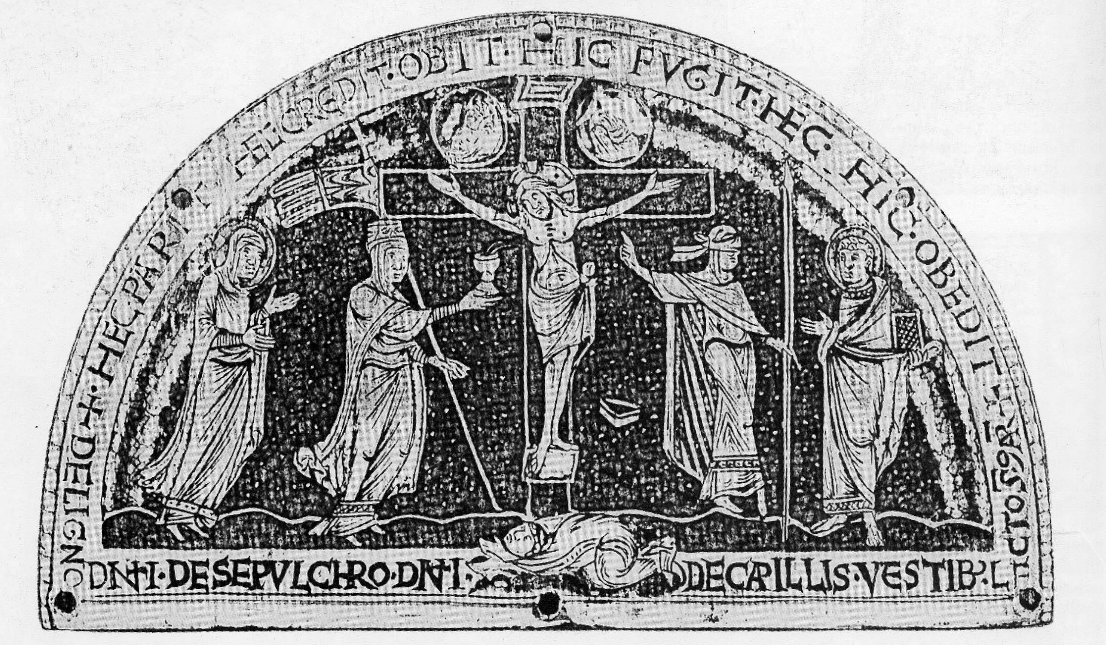


Fig. 7. *Crucifixion, Synagoga turns her back on Christ*, lid of pyx, c.1170, Paris, Musée Cluny.

Fig. 8. *Synagoga with Arma Christi*, stained-glass window, Châlons-sur-Marne. Chapter 3: The Representation of Synagoga in Crucifixion Imagery.

DILEXIQ
EXAUDIUITDNSUOCE
ORATIONISMEAE;
QUIAINCLINAUITAUREM
SUAMMIHI ETINDIE
BUSMEISINUOCABO
CIRCUMDEDERUNTME
DOLORESMORTIS PERI
CULAINFERNIINUENE
RUNTME

LOREMINUENI ETNO
MENDNIINUOCAUI;
ODNELIBERAANIMAM
MEAM MISERICORS
DNSETIUSTUSETDSNOS
TERMISERETUR;
CUSTODIENSPARUULOS
DNS HUMILIATUSSUM
ETLIBERAUITME;

MEAINREQUIEMTUAM
QUIADNSBENEFECIT
TIBI;
QUIAERIPUITANIMAM
MEAMDEMORTE OCU
LOSMEOSALACRIMIS
PEDESMEOSALAPSU;
PLACEBODNO INREGI
ONEUIUORUM;

Fig. 9. *Crucifixion, ‘Ecclesia’ with chalice*, Utrecht Psalter, fol.67, r.

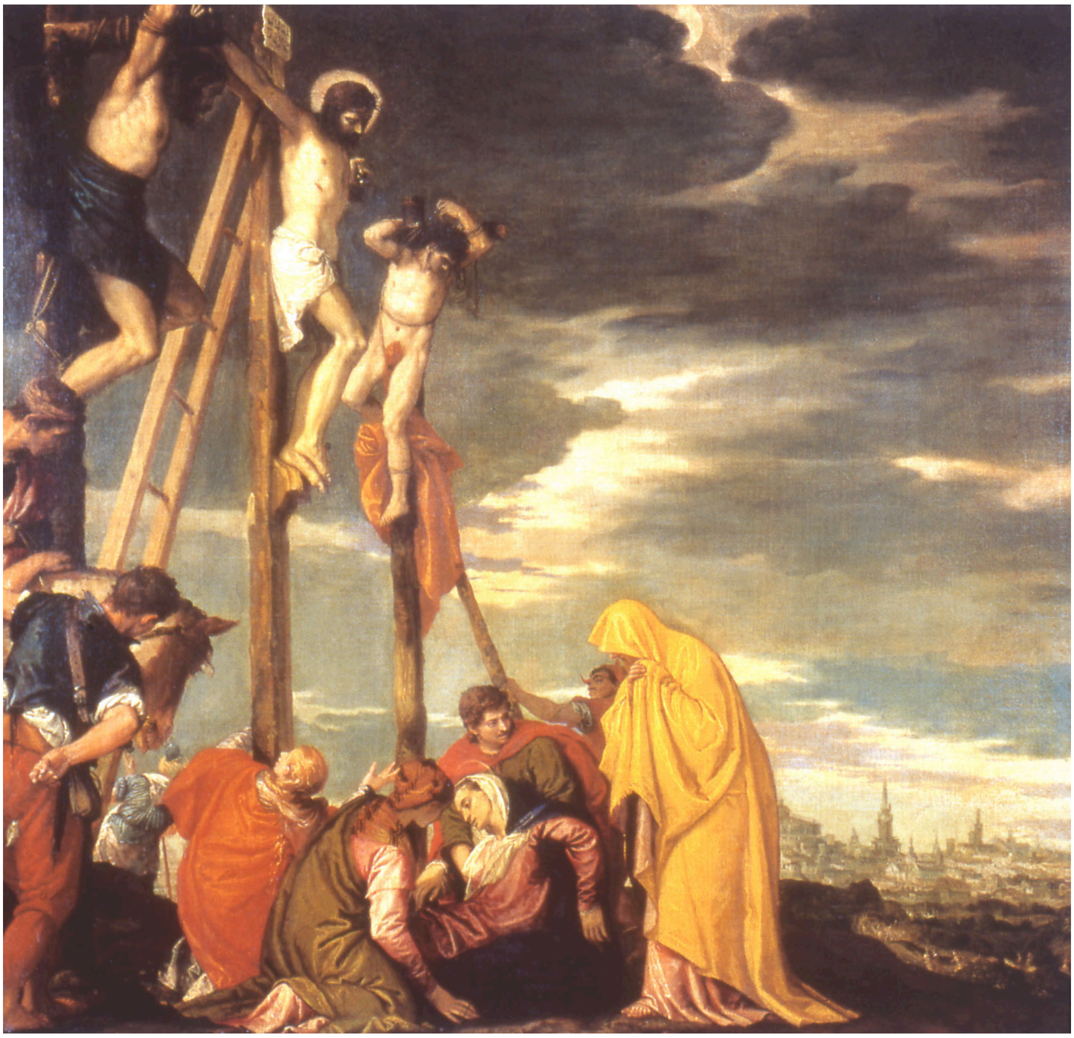


Fig. 10. *Crucifixion*, Veronese, 1570-80, Paris, Louvre.

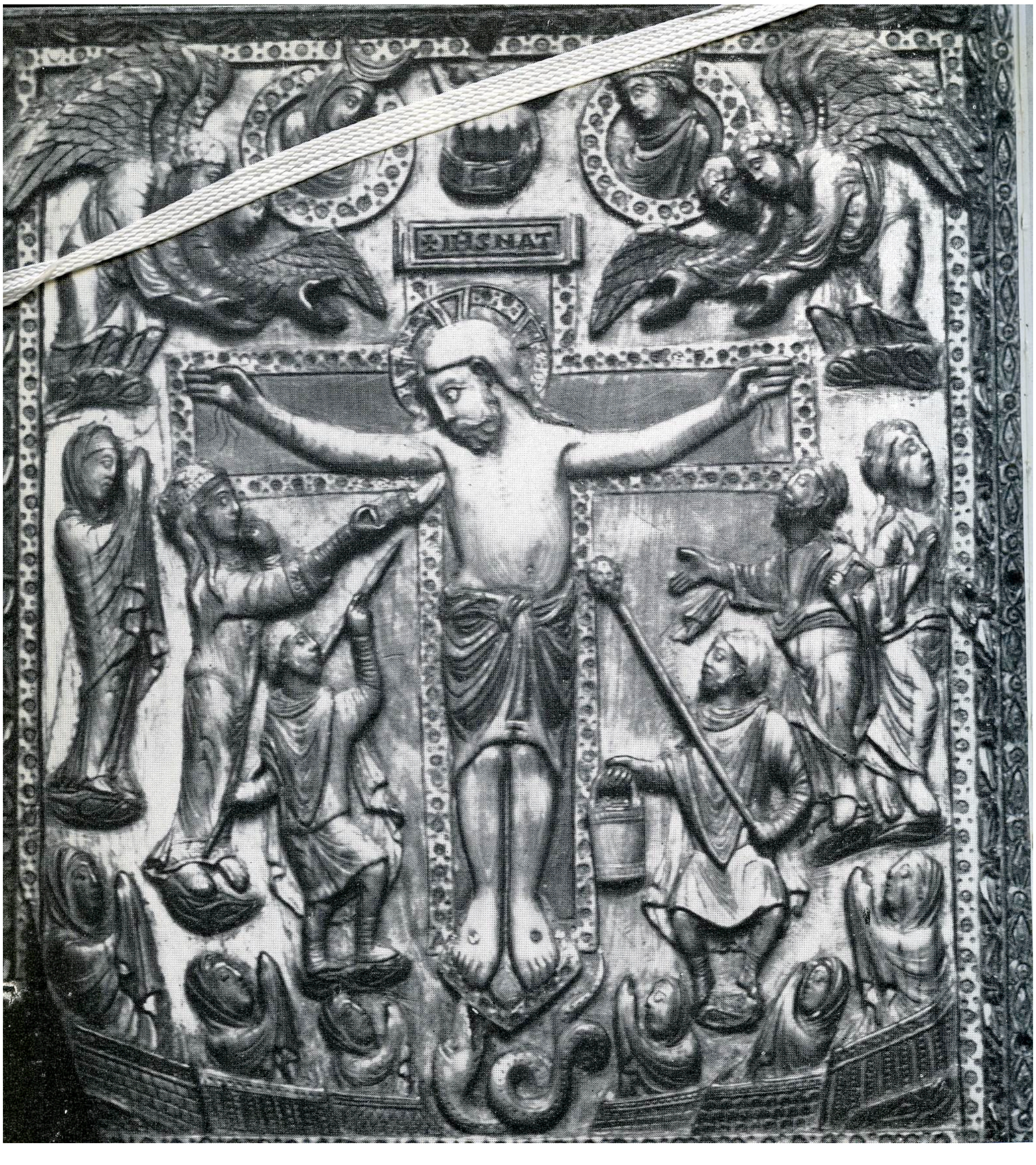


Fig. 11. *Crucifixion, Mary, Ecclesia, 'Synagoga,'* John, Longinus, Stephaton, Dead Rising, c.900. Ivory plaque, Florence, Museo Nazionale del Bargello, avorio Carrand inv.32.

Fig. 12. *Crucifixion, Mary, John, Ecclesia, Synagoga, Dead Rising,* Oceanus, Terra, Ivory Plaque, London, Victoria and Albert Museum, No. 250.67.

Fig.13. *Crucifixion, Women of Jerusalem, Ecclesia, ‘Synagoga,’* John, Longinus, Stephaton, Dead Rising, Marys and Angel at the empty tomb, Oceanus, Terra, Roma? Ivory cover of Bamberg Evangelistary, enveloped in precious gems, c.870, Munich, Staatsbibliothek, Codex Latinus, 4452.

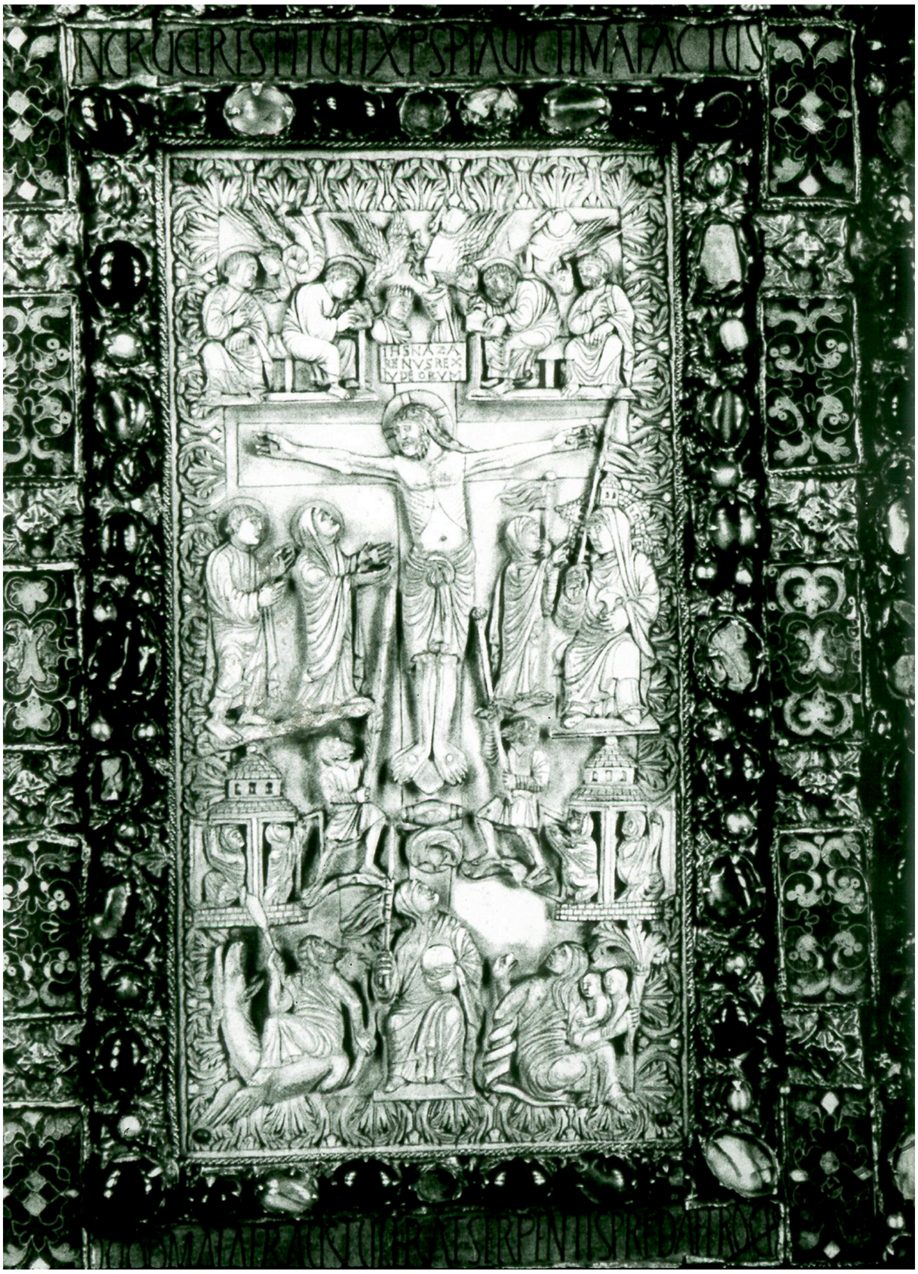


Fig.14. *Crucifixion, John, Mary, Longinus, Stephaton, Dead Rising,* Oceanus, Terra, Roma? Ecclesia and ‘Synagoga’ in dispute. Ivory plaque, c. 900, Paris, Bib. Nat. Cod. Lat. 9383.

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Fig. 15. *In Principio* Gospel Book of Odbert of St.-Bertin folio 85r.

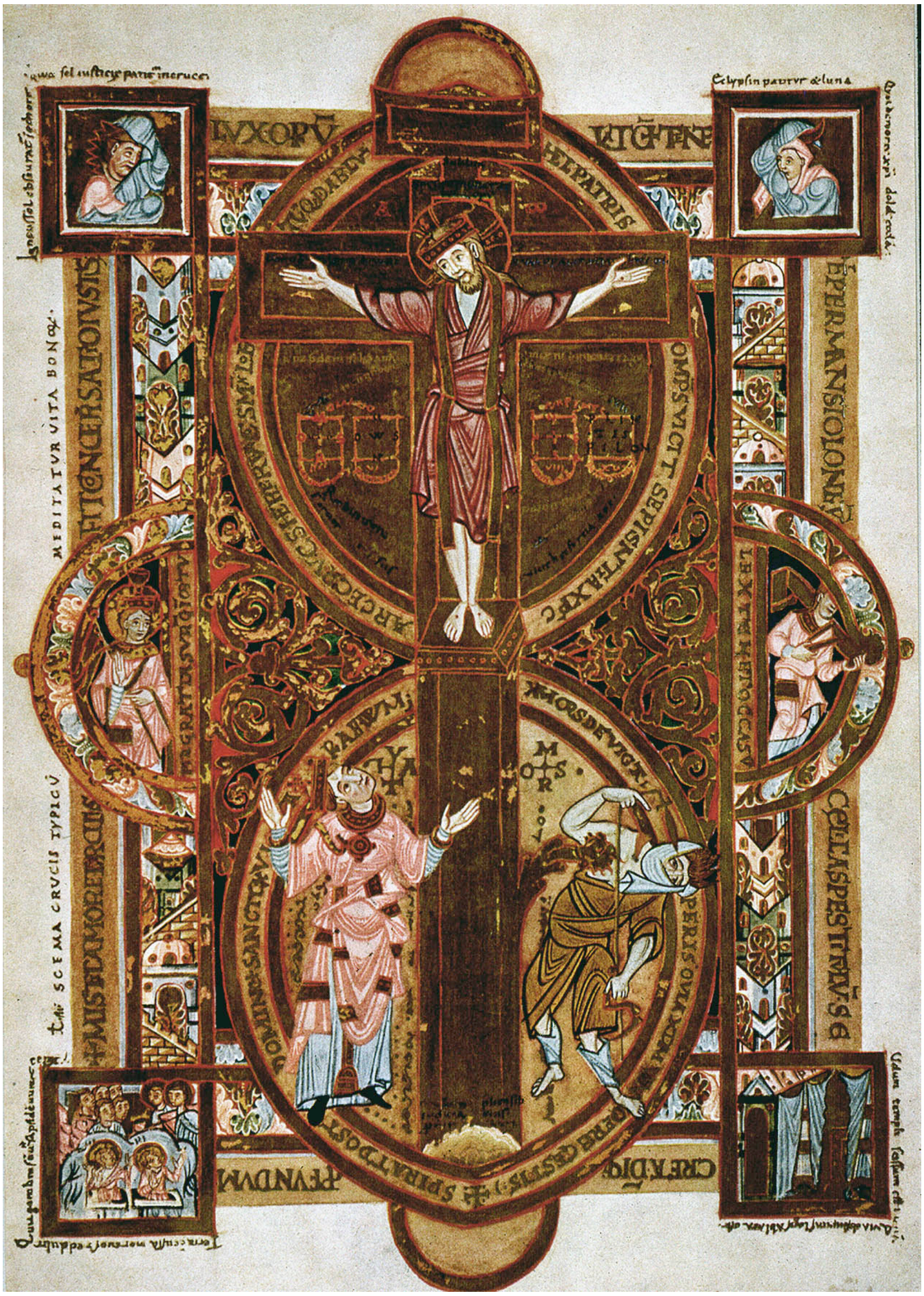

Fig. 16. *Symbolic Crucifixion*, Uta Codex, fol. 3, v. Munich, Staatsbibliothek, cod. lat. 13601.

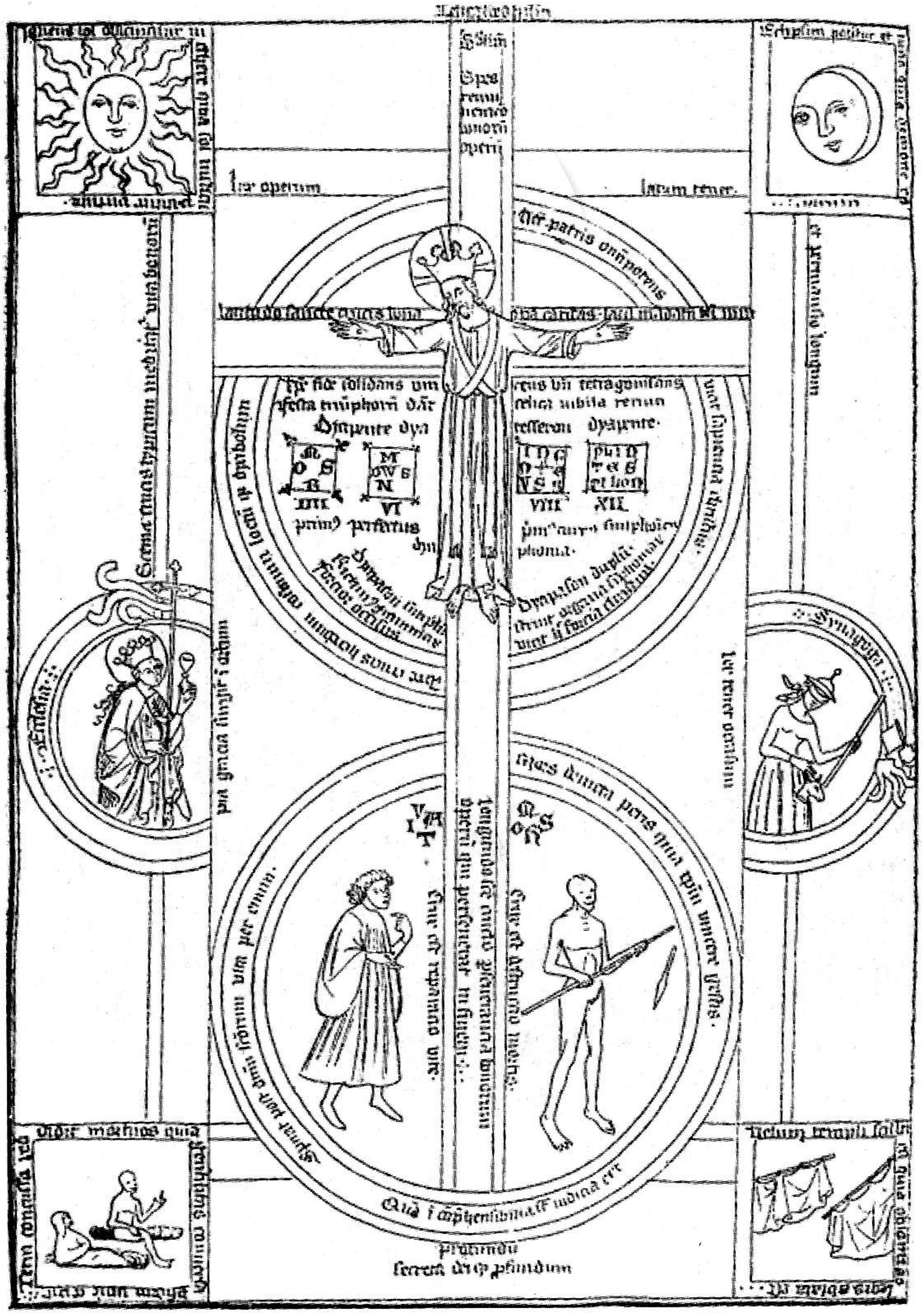

Fig. 17. *Symbolic Crucifixion, Synagoga with judenhut, goat*, broken standard. Copy after previous image. Munich, Staatsbibliothek, Clm 8201, fol. 97, v.

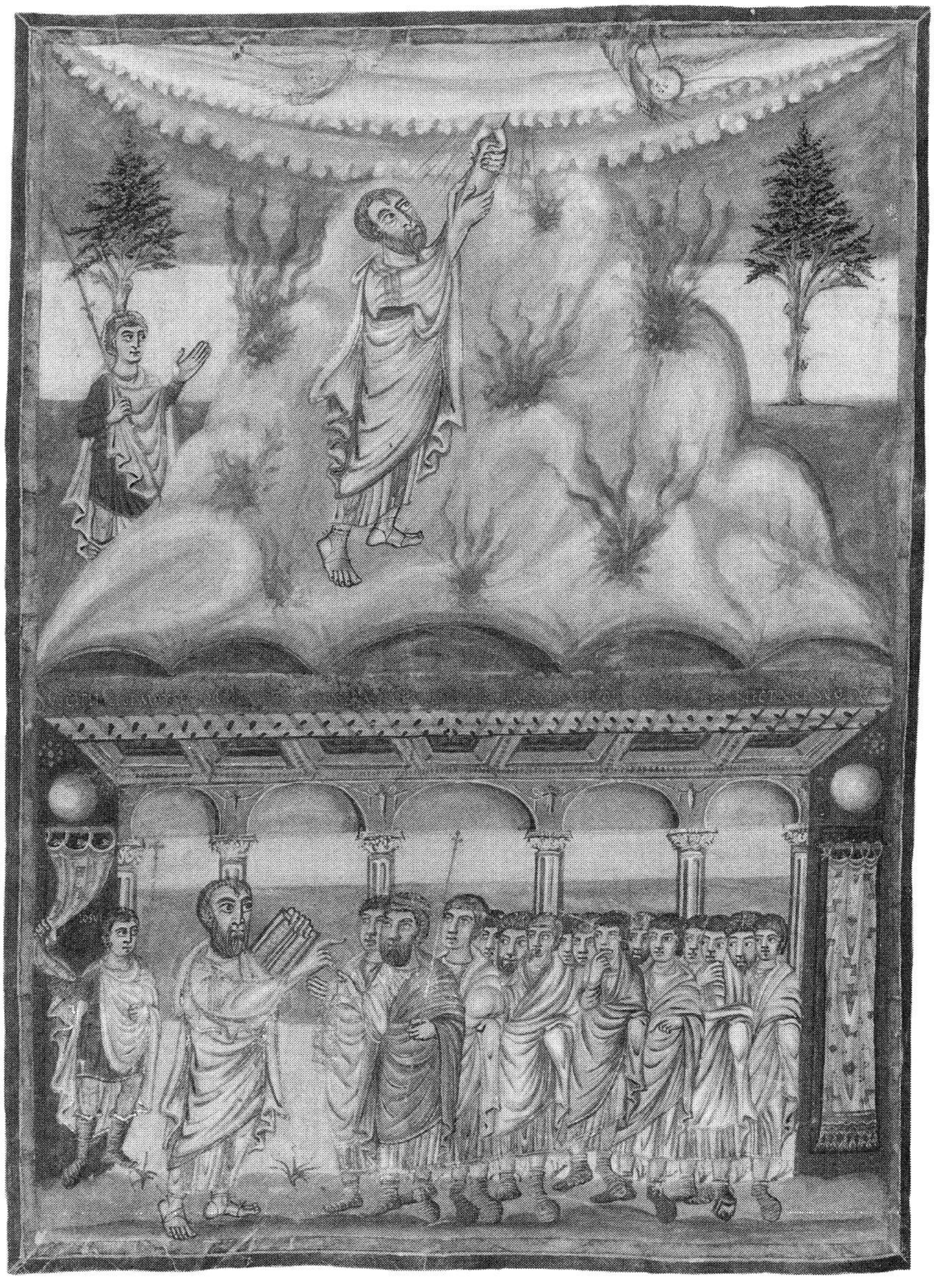

Fig.18. *Moses receives the tablets of the Law*, Moutier-Grandval Bible, B.L. Add. MS. 10546, fol. 25v. Made between 834 and 843 at Tours.

Fig.19. *Moses receives the tablets of the Law*, Israelites wear judenhuts, Rudolf of Ems, World Chronicle, Munich, Bayer. Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 6406, fol. 68 (Marburg Bildarchiv).

Fig. 20. *Crucifixion, Synagoga wears judenhut*, Essen Missal, Düsseldorf, Heinrich-Heine-Institut, Cod. D 4.

Fig. 21. *Ecclesia ex Circumcisione*, Ecclesia ex Gentibus Mosaic, Church of Santa Sabina, Rome, consecrated 432, C.E.

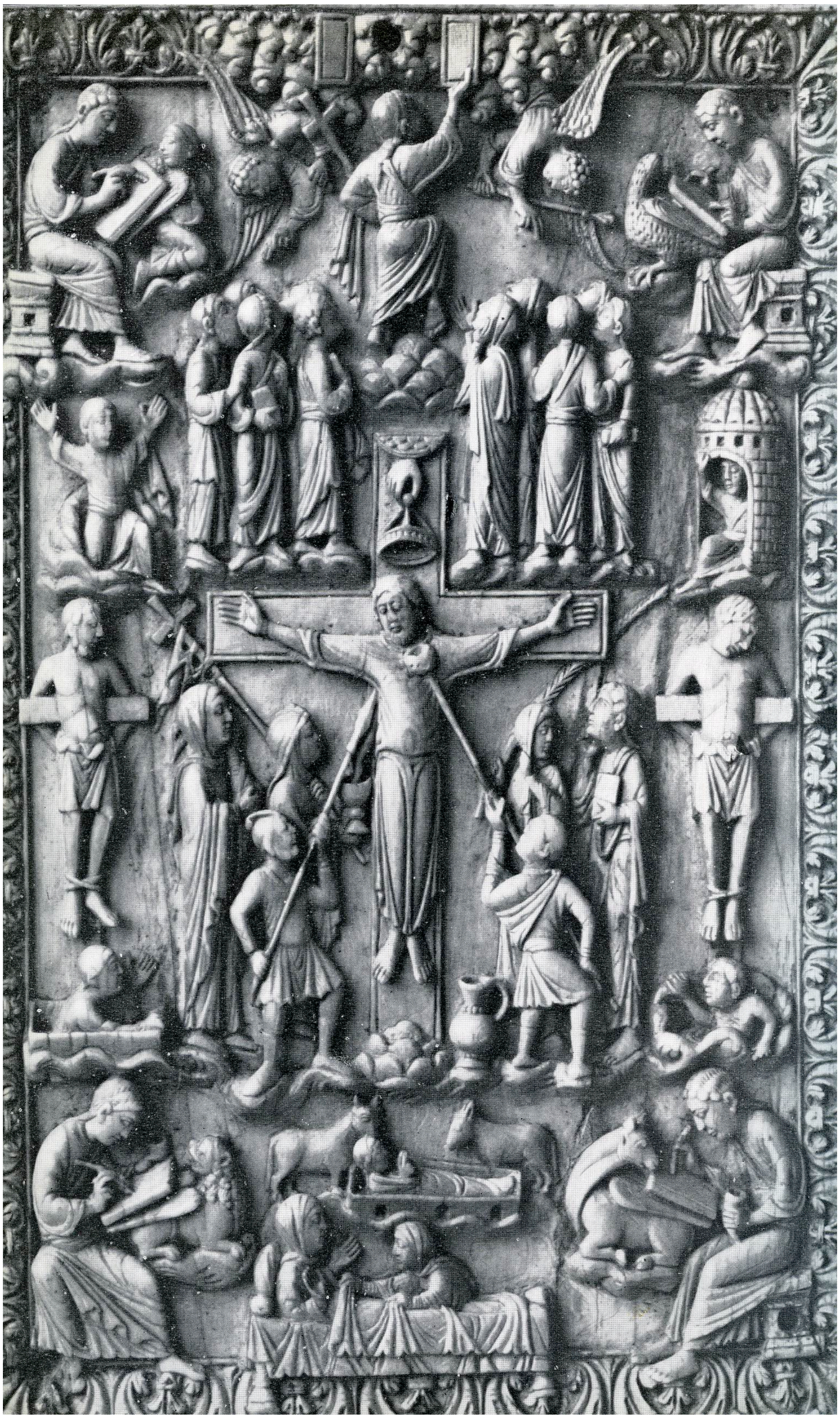

Fig. 22. *Ivory relief, c.1050.* Crucifixion, Symbols of the Evangelists, Nativity, Ecclesia with cross standard. Liège, Institut Royal du Patrimoine Artistique, Brussels.

Fig. 23. *Moses with judenhut*. Miniature in a manuscript of Augustine written before 1165, but illustrated later in twelfth century. Munich, Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 13085, part 2, fol. 89 r.19.

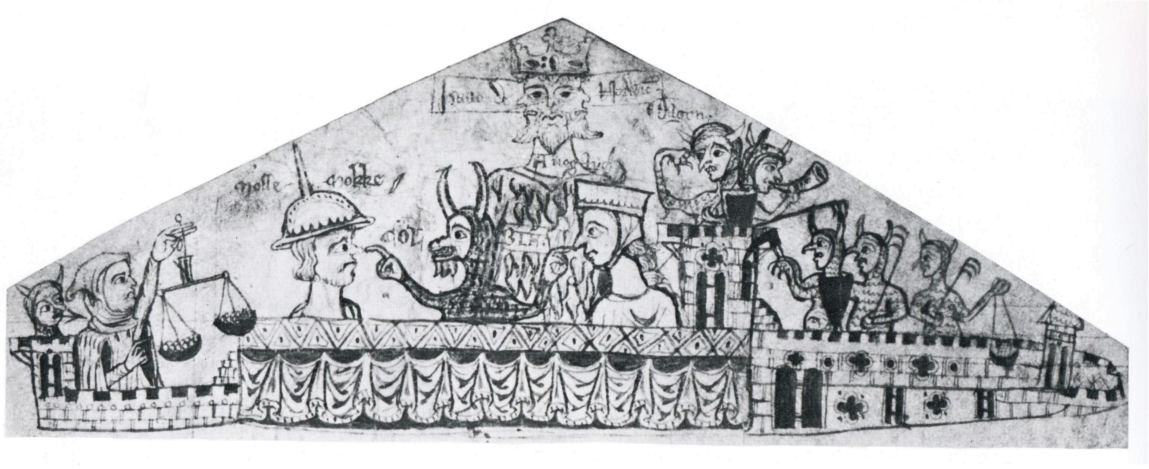

Fig. 24. *Caricature of English Jews*, National Archives.

Fig. 25. *Susskind von Trimberg with Bishop and Two Clerics*, Codex Manesse, fol. 355 r.

Fig. 26. *Nativity*, c.1230-40, Staatliche Museen Kupferstichkabinett, 78A 7 (no. 636).

Fig. 27. *Knight, Workman, Cleric*, representing the 3 classes, Aldobrandino of Sienna, Li Livres dou Sante, France, late thirteenth century. B.L. Sloane 2435, fol. 85 v.

Fig. 28. *The Incredulity of Thomas,* Supper at Emmaus, Jesus wears judenhut, 'St. Louis' Psalter, Leiden, c.1200, Universitätsbibliothek, Hs BPL 76 A fol.27.

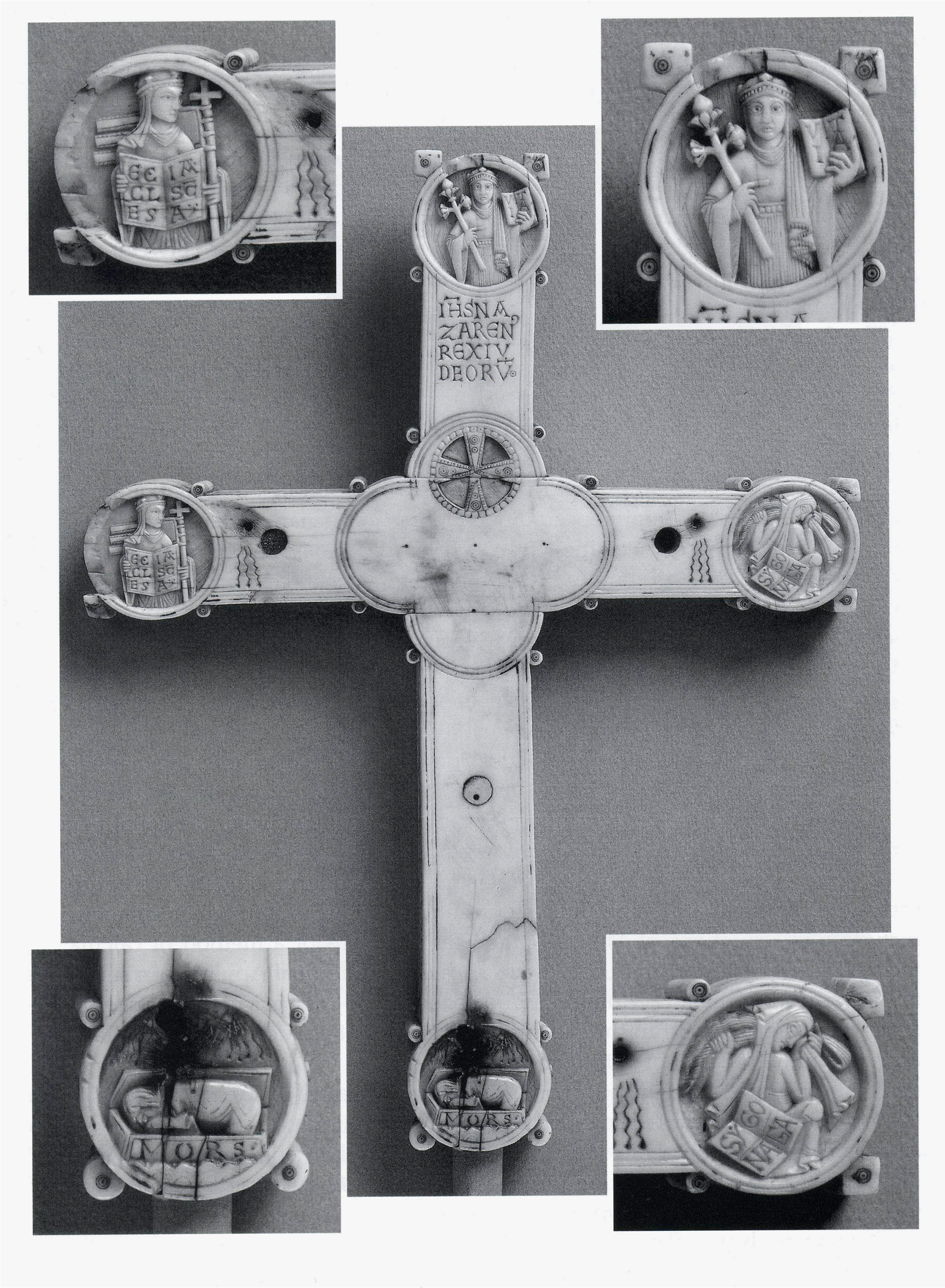

Fig.29. *Cross of Gunhild*, Copenhagen, Nationalmuseet, No. 9087.

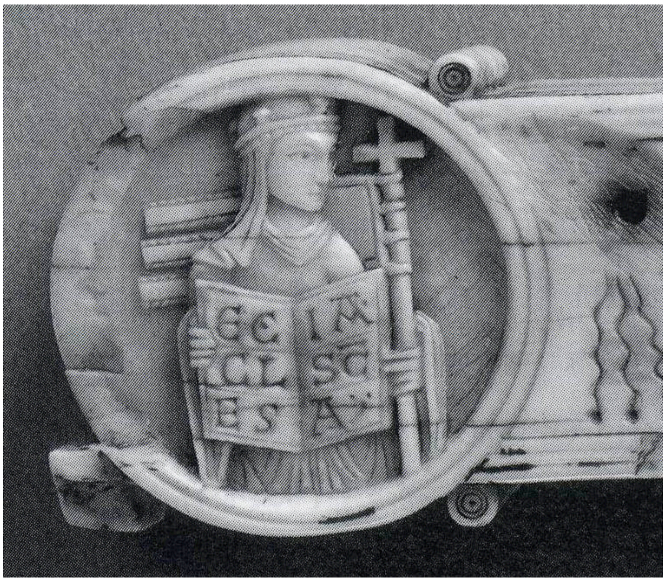

Fig.30. *Cross of Gunhild, Ecclesia.*

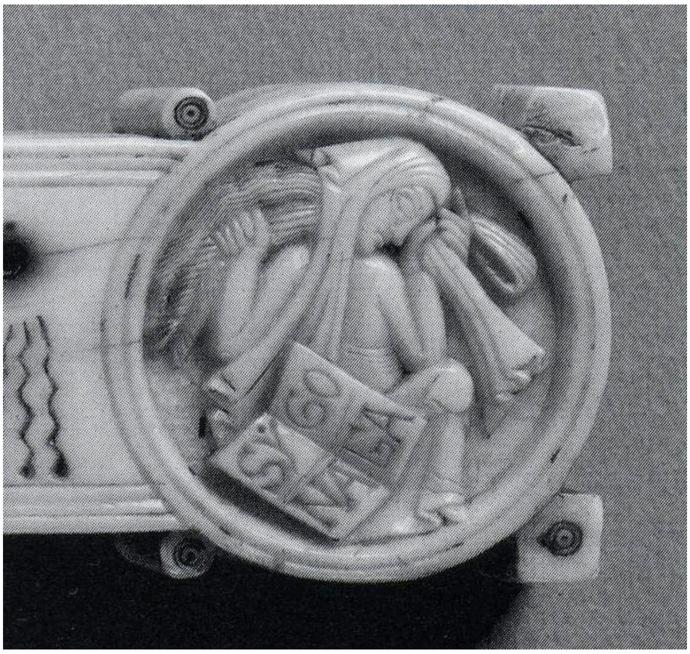

Fig. 31. *Cross of Gunhild, Synagoga.*

Fig. 32. *The Cloisters Cross*, front, New York, the Metropolitan Museum of Art The Cloisters Collection, 1963, 63.12.

Fig. 33. *The Cloisters Cross,* back.

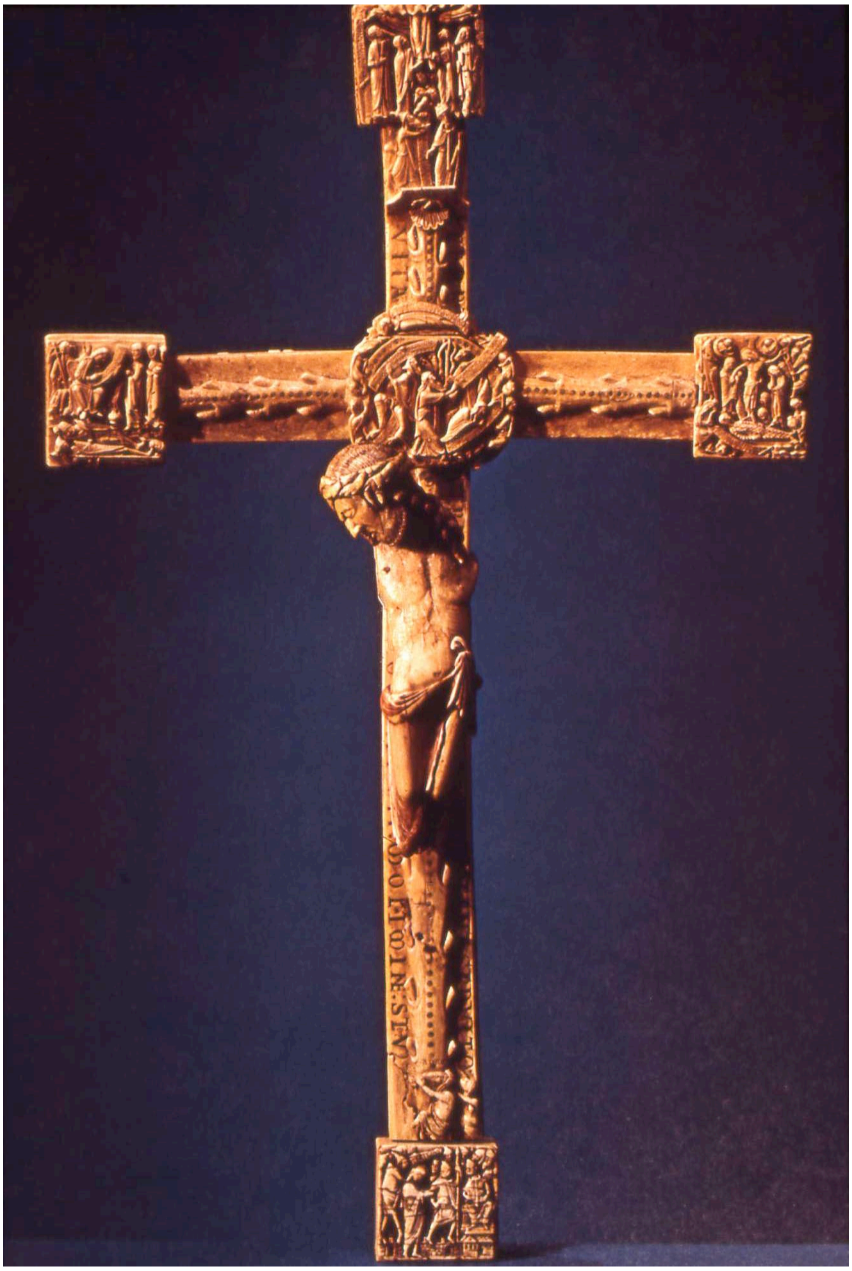

Fig. 34. *The Cloisters Cross with Oslo corpus*.

Fig.35. *The Cloisters Cross, Lamb Medallion*, Synagoga pierces the Lamb.

Fig. 36. *Synagoga pierces the Lamb*, Noyon Missal, c.1250, Harvard College Library.

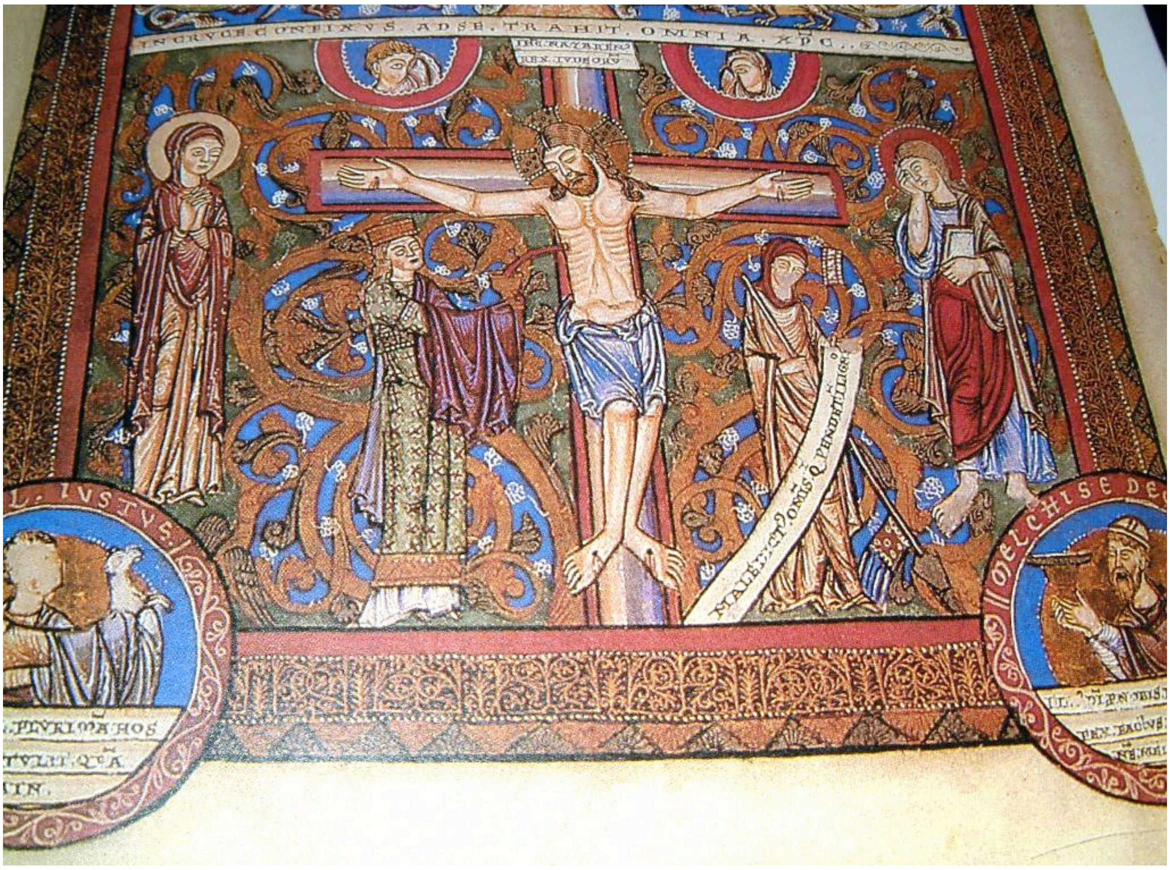

Fig. 37. *Synagoga pierces the Lamb*, Gospels of Henry the Lion, Helmarshausen Abbey, c.1173-1175. Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel, fol. 107, v.

Fig. 38. *The Cloisters Cross, Moses Medallion.*

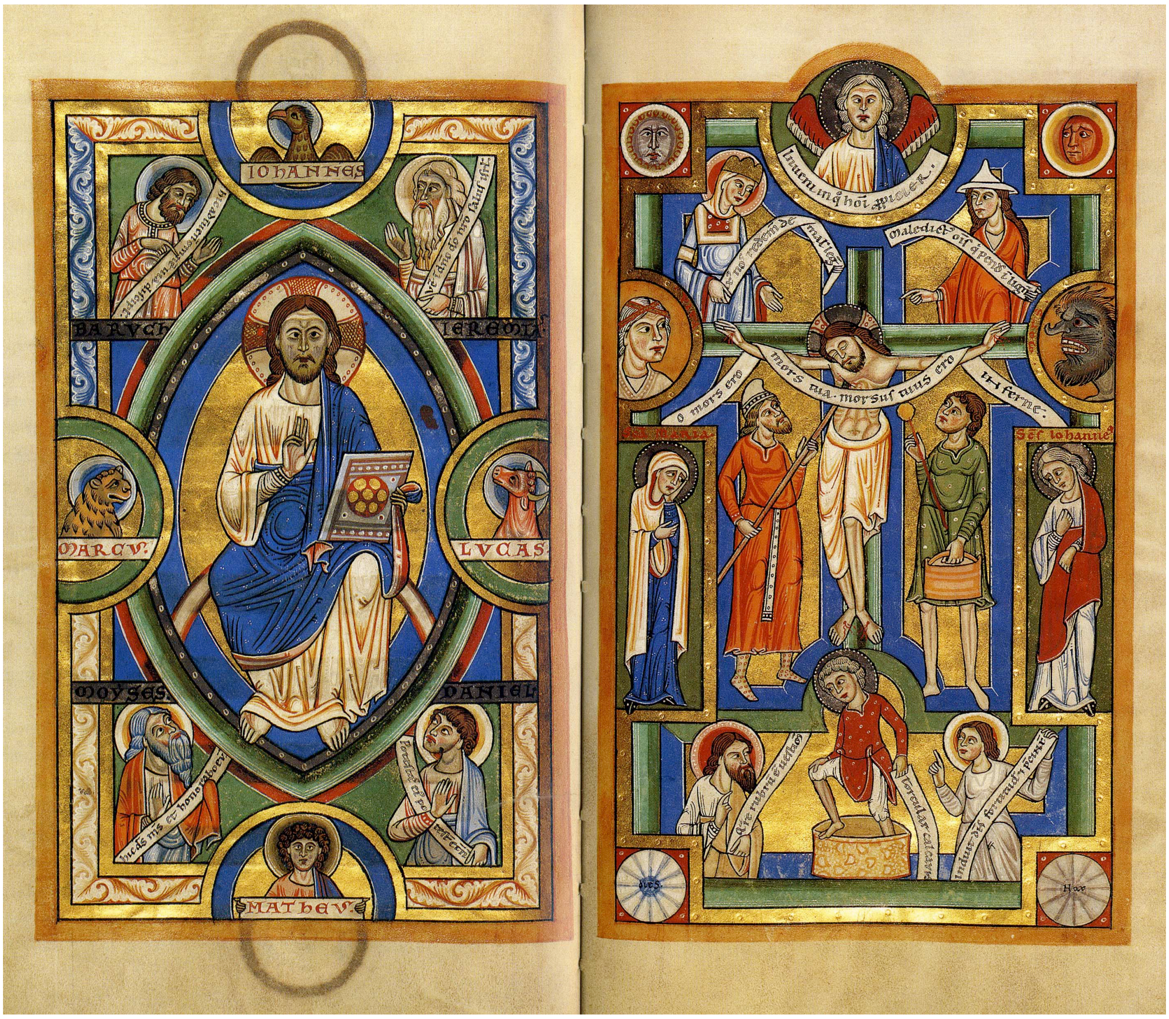

Fig. 39. *Christ in Majesty, Crucifixion* Stammheim Missal, J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, Ms. 64, fols. 85v.-86.

Fig. 40. *Fides and Infidelitas*, Chapter house, Salisbury Cathedral.

Fig. 41. *The Hanging of Haman*, Citeaux Bible, Dijon, MS. 14, fol. 122 v.

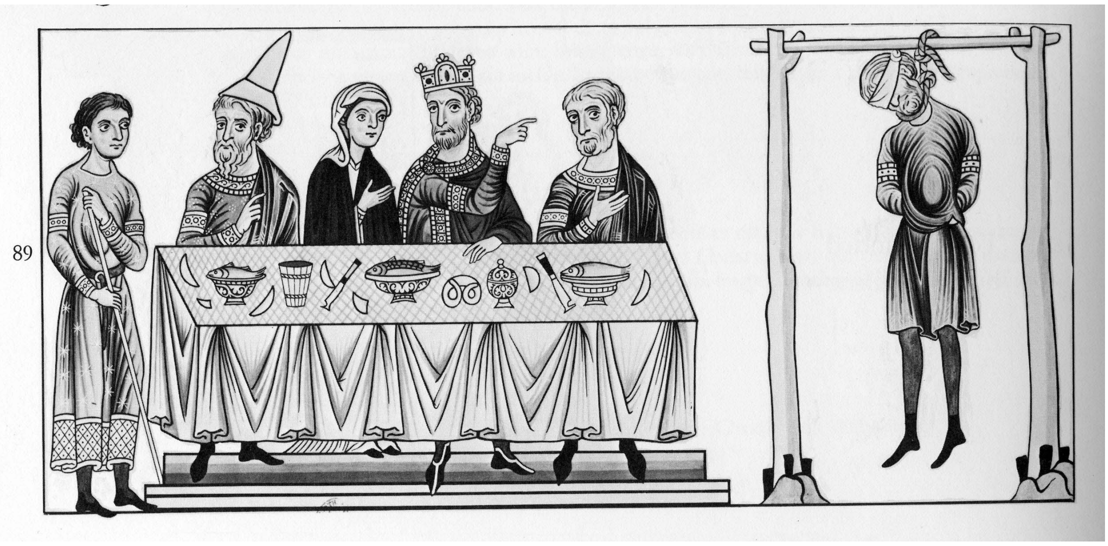

Fig. 42. *Ahasuerus's feast and the Hanging of Haman*, Hortus Deliciarum, fol. 60, v.

Fig. 43. *Hanging of eight thieves*, Life and Miracles of St.Edmund, King and Martyr, Bury St Edmunds Abbey, c.1130. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 736 fol. 19 v.

Fig. 44. *The Stavelot Portable Altar*, c.1160, Typological correspondence, Synagoga blindfold. Musées Royaux d’art et d’histoire, cat. 39 / 1580, Brussels.

Fig. 44. a *Detail of 44 above.*

Fig. 45. *Crucifixion with Sacrifice of Abel*, Sacrifice of Abraham. Pyx, c.1170, Cleveland Museum of Art, 49.31. As No. 7.

Fig. 46. *Crucifixion, Easter morning*, Noli me tangere, Gospel Book cover, c.1170, Trier Cathedral Treasury, MS cod.141.

Chapter Four: Judgement and Reconciliation

Fig. 1. *Christ, the Good Shepherd separates Sheep from Goats*. Mosaic, Sant’Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna, sixth century.

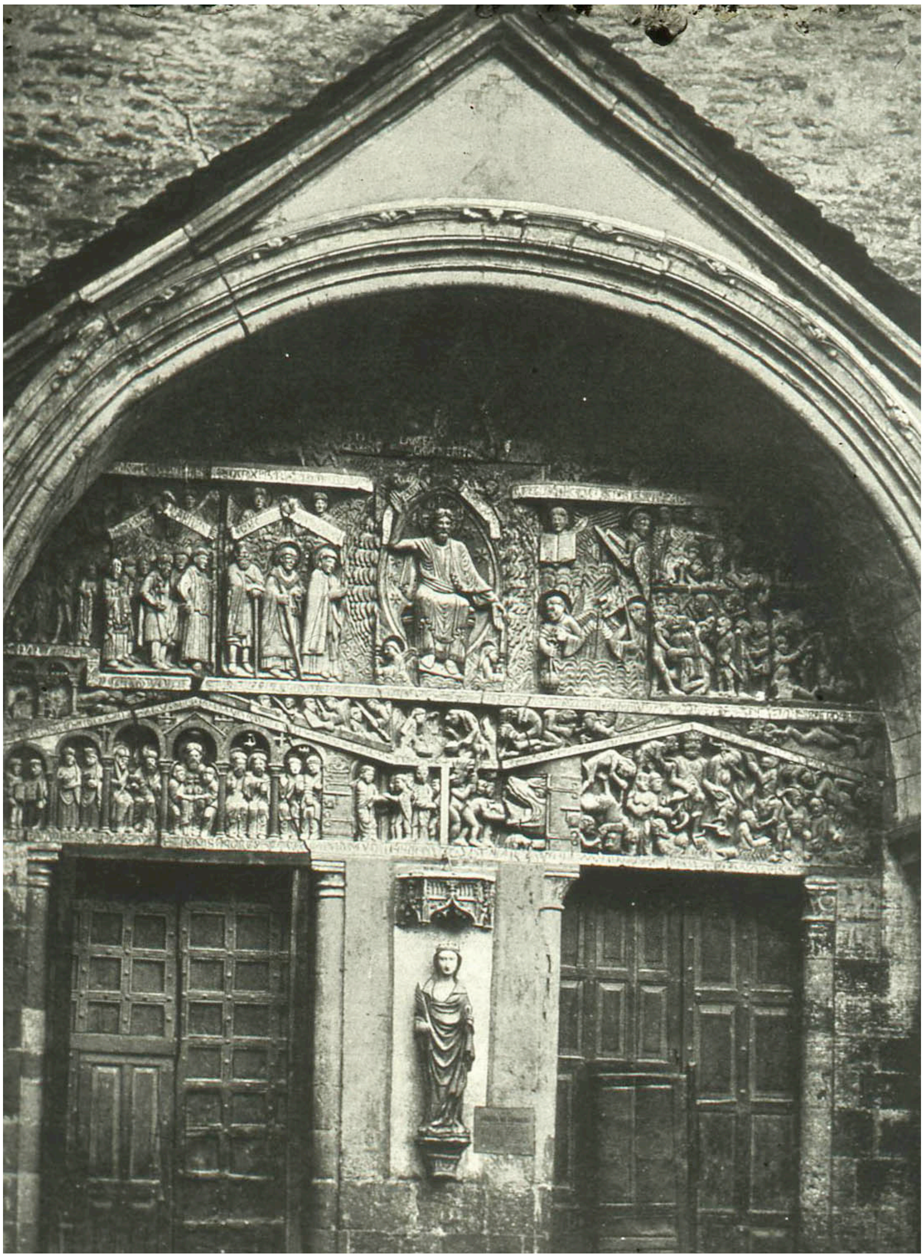

Fig. 2 *Last Judgement.* Tympanum of west façade Abbey church of St. Foy, Conques.

Fig. 3. Last Judgement, *Hortus Deliciarum* of Herrad of Hohenbourg, fol. 253, *v*.

Fig. 4. *Crucifixion*, *Symbols of the Evangelists*, *Mary and John, Harrowing of Hell*, *Saved and Damned*. Silver paten, *c*.1160-1170. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum.

Fig. 4a *Group of Jews at Gate of Hell*. Detail of above.

Fig. 5. *The Wilten Chalice*, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum.

Fig. 6. *Last Judgement*. Tympanum of the central portal, west façade Notre Dame, Amiens, 1220-35.

Fig. 6a. *St. Michael, Synagoga and Ecclesia*. Detail of above.

Fig. 7. *The Wise and Foolish Virgins*. Codex Purpureus Rossanensis fol.2, *v*., sixth century, Rossano, Italy.

Fig. 8. *Last Judgement with Wise and Foolish Virgins*. Tympanum, central portal, west façade St-Denis, 1140.

Fig. 9. *Synagoga* and *Ecclesia*. Notre-Dame de Paris, west façade central portal.

Fig. 9a. *Ecclesia and Synagoga*. Detail of above.

Fig. 10. *Wise Virgins*. ‘Paradise’ Portal, Magdeburg Cathedral.

10a *Foolish Virgins*, as above.

Fig. 11. *The Foolish Virgins and the Tempter*. Cathedral of Notre-Dame, Strasbourg.

12 *Christ blesses the Wise Virgins*. As above.

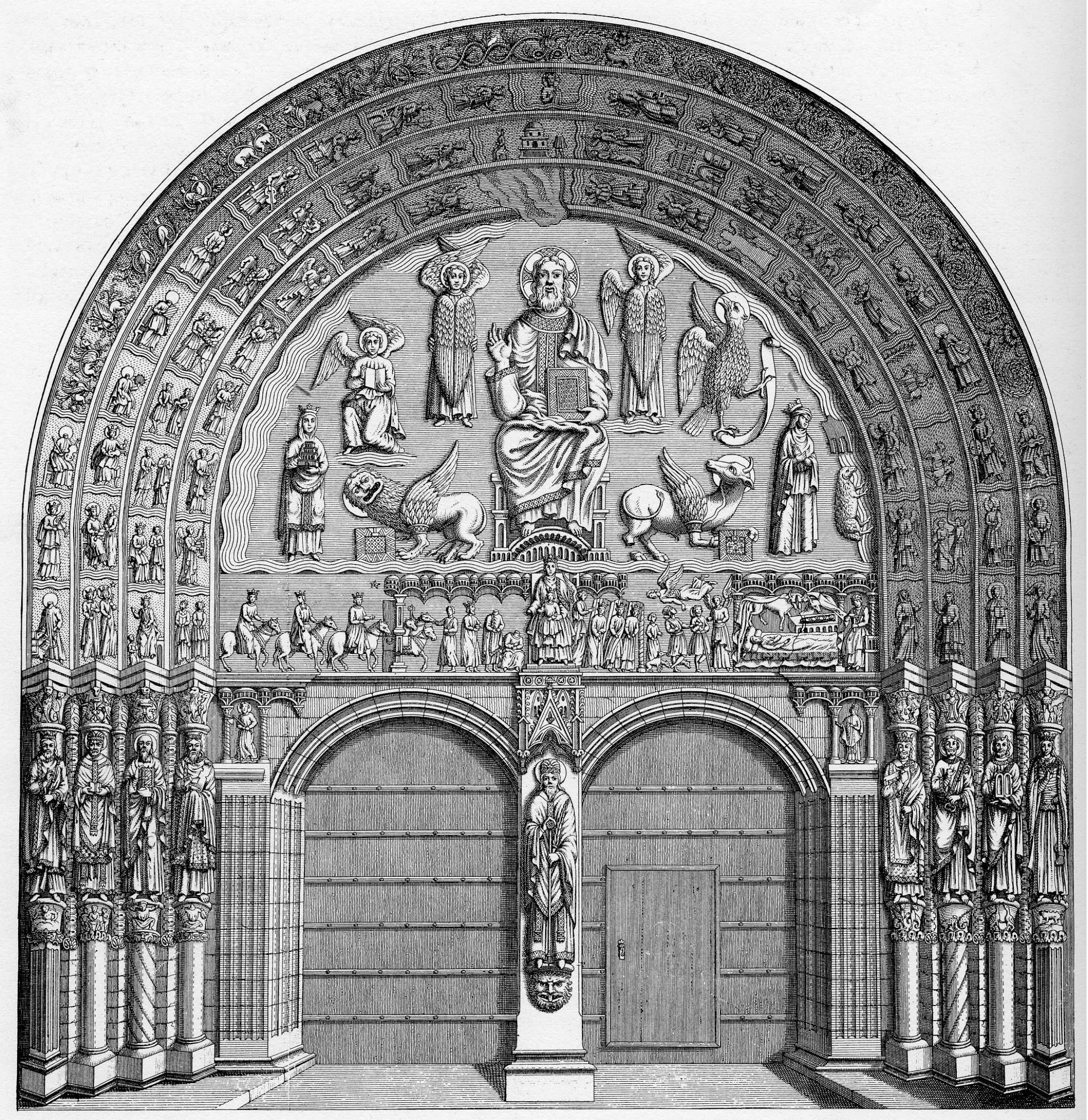

Fig. 13. *Majestas*, *Synagoga* and *Ecclesia*. Tympanum of west portal, abbey church of St.-Benigne, Dijon, *c*.1160.

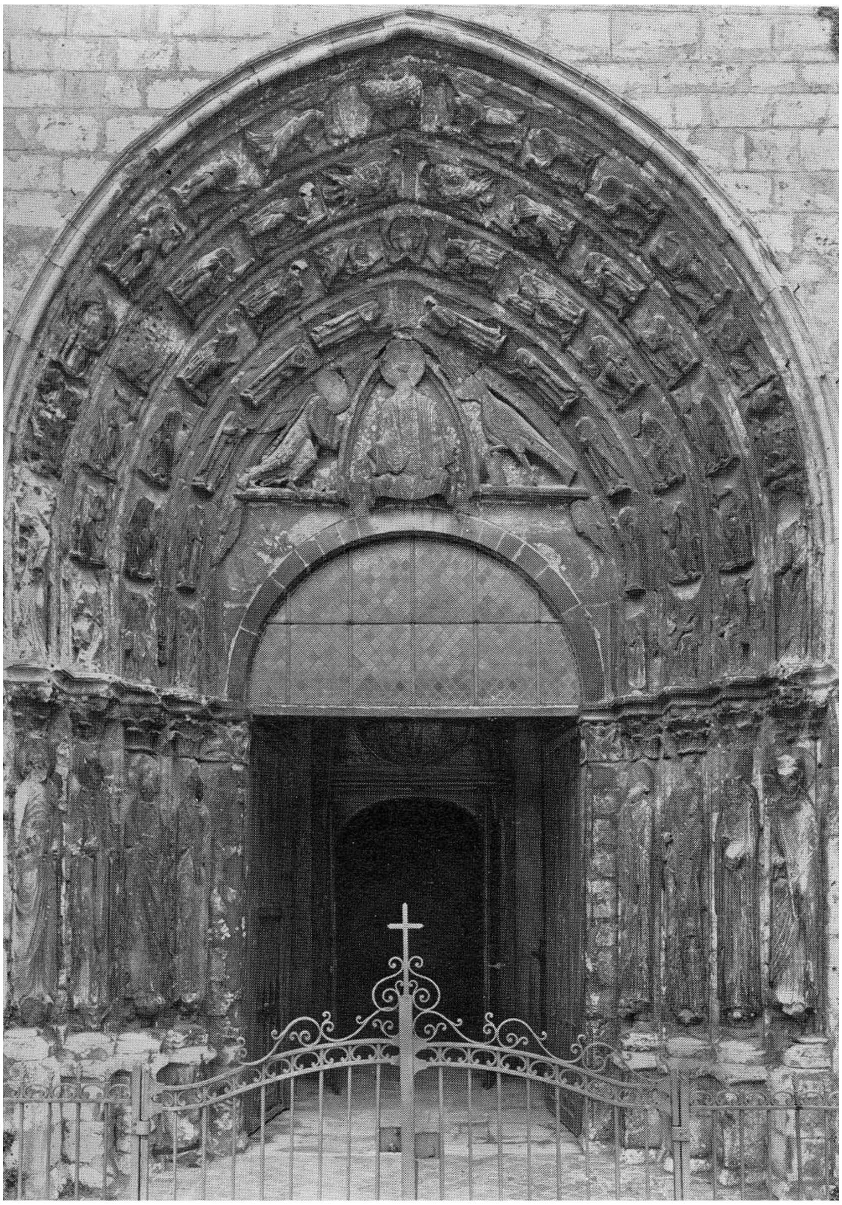

Fig. 14. *Christ in Majesty*, *Synagoga*, *Ecclesia*. Priory Church, St-Ayoul, Provins, tympanum, west portal.

Fig. 15. *Lazarus and Dives*. Church of St. Peter Moissac.

Fig.16. *Last Judgement Liber Vitae* of Newminster, *c*.1016-120.B.L. MS. Stowe 944, fol. 7, *r*.

Fig. 17. *Hell mouth*. Winchester Psalter, London, B.L. Ms. Cotton Nero C IV, fol. 39.

Fig. 18. Commentary on the Apocalypse of Beatus of Liébana (Silos Apocalypse) London, B.L. Add. MS. 11695 fol. 2

Fig.19. *Last Judgement*, Hanged man and money bag. Detail St-Foy, Conques.

Fig. 20. *Hell*. *Hortus Deliciarum* of Herrad of Hoenbourg, fol. 255 *r*.

Fig. 21. *Among the Damned*. *Man with Judenhut*, fragmentary relief, Mainz Cathedral, *c*.1239.

Fig. 22. *Among the Blessed*, fragmentary relief, as (20), above.

Fig. 23 Apocalypse / Last Judgement, Church of St.-Pierre, Beaulieu-sur-Dordogne, south portal tympanum, *c*.1130-1135.

Fig. 24. As above, details.

Fig. 25. As above, details.

Fig. 26. *Baptism of Synagoga*, *Hortus Deliciarum*, fol. 167*v*.

Fig. 27. *Synagoga*, *Ecclesia*, *Moses*. Baptismal font, Church of St. Peter, Southrop, Gloucester, twelfth century.

Fig. 28. *The Baptised*. Bamberg Commentary on the *Song of Songs*, Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, MS Bibl. 22, fol. 4 *v*. and fol. 5.

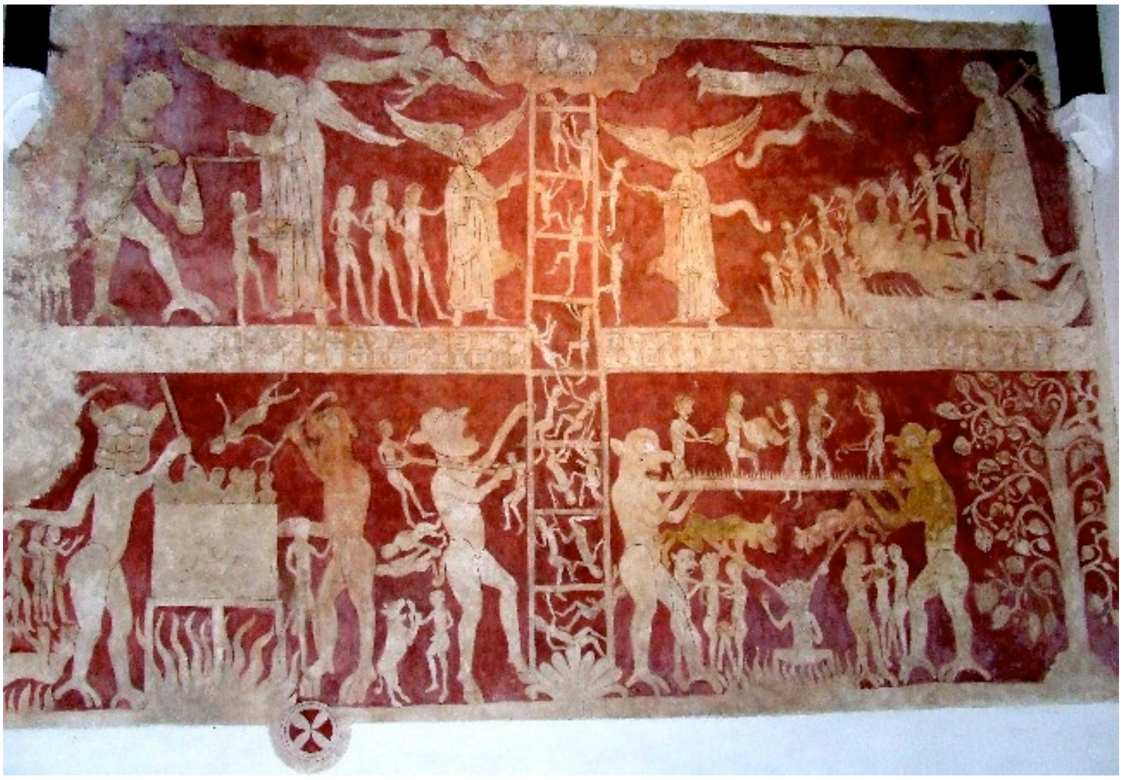

Fig. 29. *Last Judgement*, *Hell*. Wall painting, twelfth century, Saints Peter and Paul, Chaldon, Surrey.

Fig. 30. Interior west wall painting Sant Angelo in Formis, Italy, late eleventh century.

Fig. 31. *Last Judgement*. Mosaic, interior west wall, Santa-Maria Assunta, Torcello, twelfth century.

Fig. 32. *Resurrection of Dead and Last Judgement*, Pericope of Henry II, 1002-14.

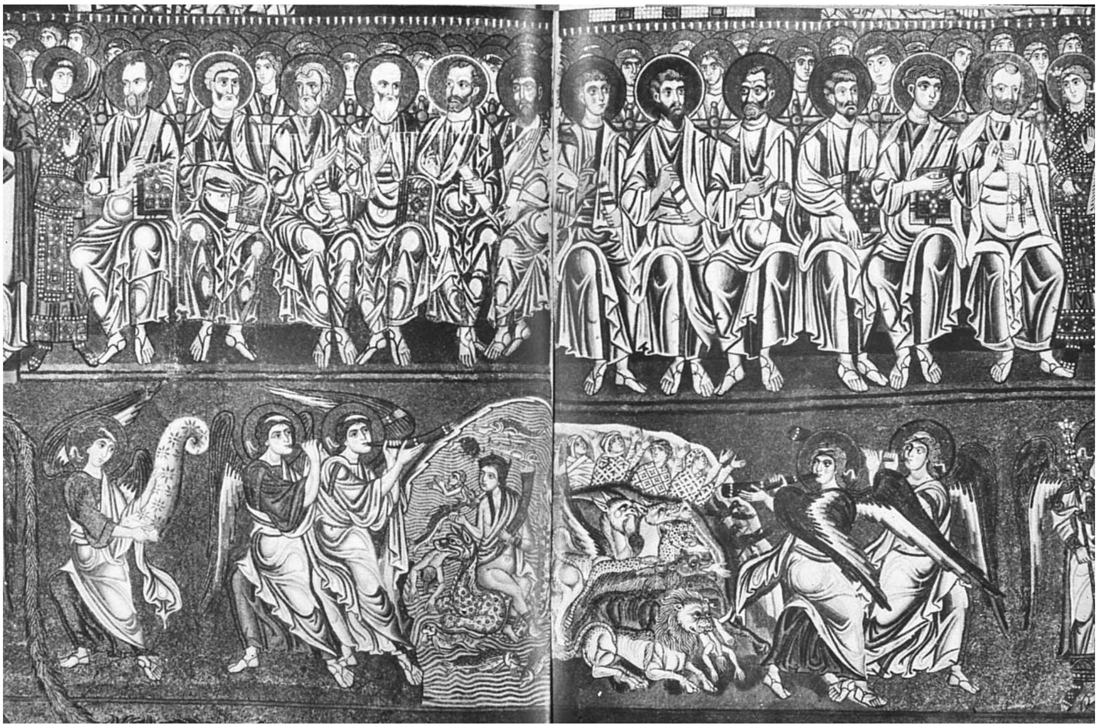

Fig. 33. *Last Judgement*. Mosaic, Torcello, detail of Fig. 3: animals regurgitating bodies at the resurrection of the dead.

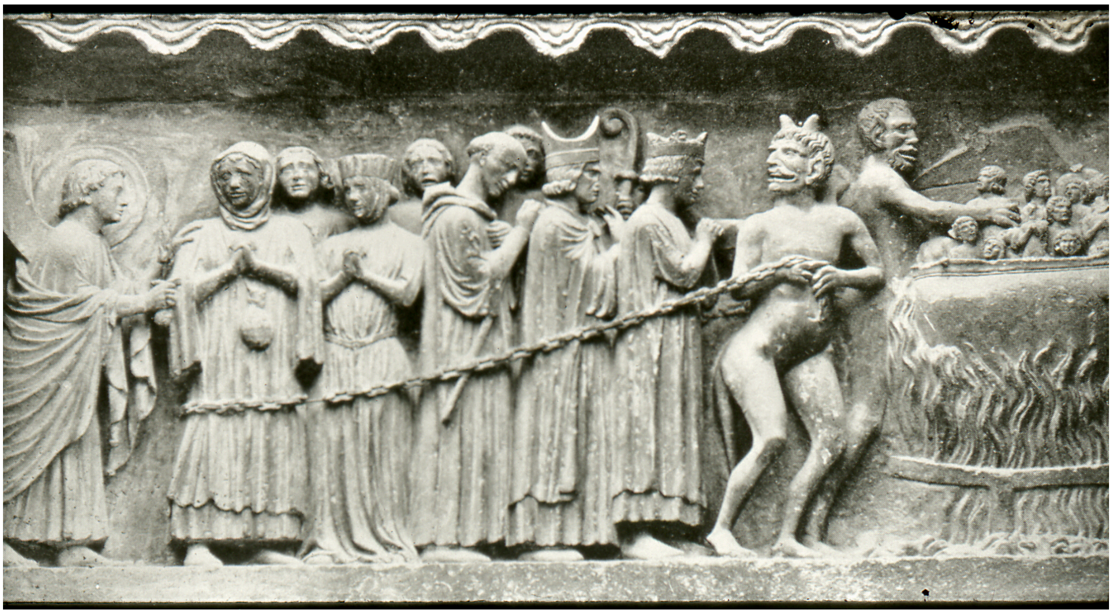

Fig. 34. The Damned in chains, Last Judgement, Cathedral of Notre-Dame, North transept, west façade, Rheims.

Fig. 35. *Last Judgement*, *Hell-mouth-Leviathan*. St-Foy, Conques.

Fig.36. *Christ*, *Ecclesia* and *Synagoga*, *Liber Floridus* of Lambert of St. Omer, 1120, fol. 53 *r*

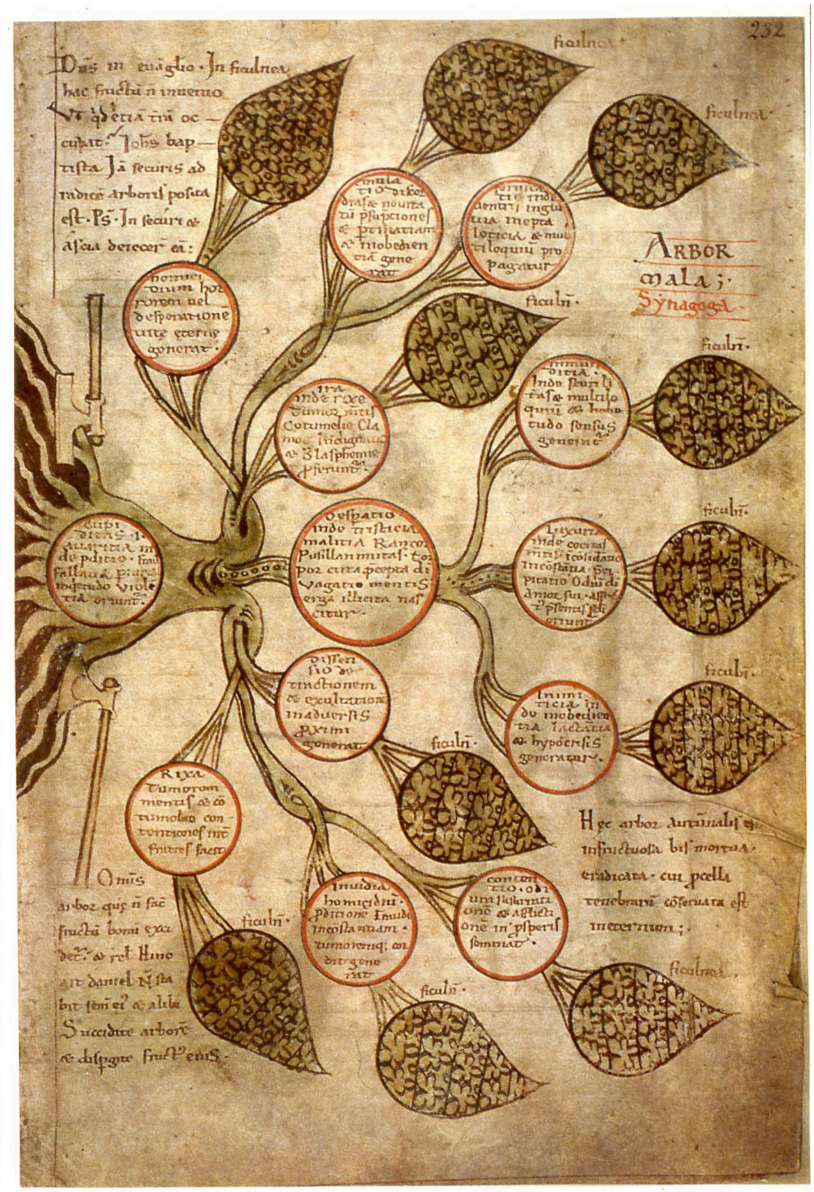

Fig. 37. *Good and Bad Trees*. *Liber Floridus*, fols. 231*v*.-232 *r*.

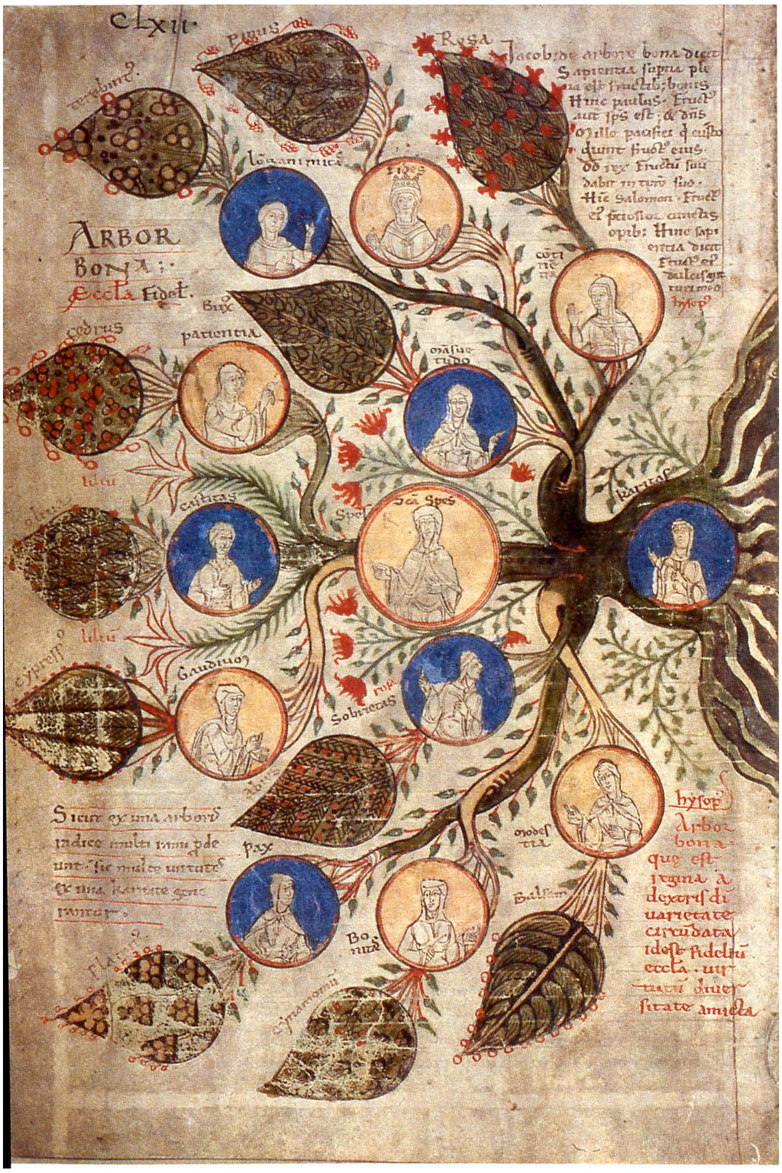

Fig. 38. *Good and Bad Trees*. *Liber Floridus*, fols. 231*v*.-232 *r*.

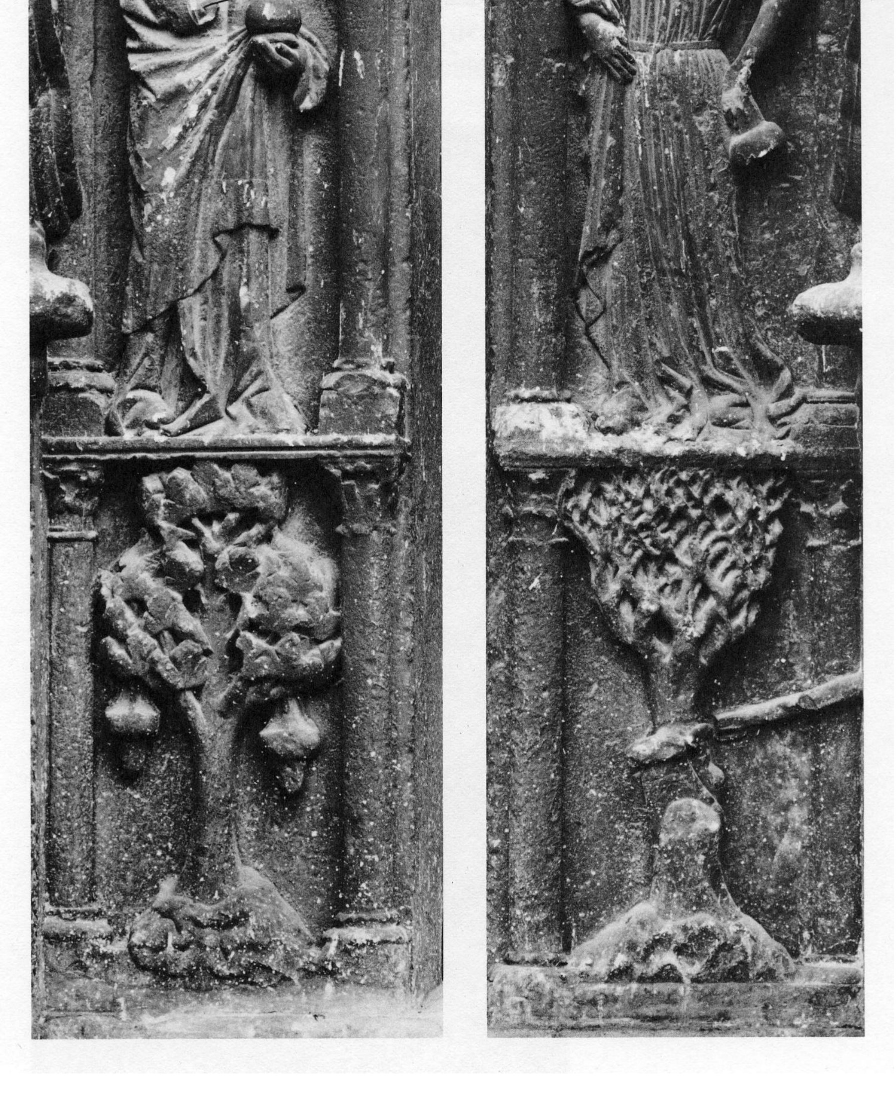

Fig. 39. *Wise and Foolish Virgins*. Amiens, Central portal.

plures clari fuerīt· q̄ milite xp̄i p̄clari armi instruxerīt·
Quartū bellū nē gerit sub religiosi· int̄ uero & falso frēs·
qd q̄dē cepit a iuda & petro· sꝫ maxime inualuit q̄ndo
claustrali religio institui cepit· finiet aūt sub antixp̄o·
uel poci' in fine mundi· Quintū bellū erit sub antixp̄o·
qd incipiet a p̄dicatione Helyę & Enoch & finiet in morte
antixp̄i· In hoc bello corruens duces regine Helyas & Enoch
& omis exercitus martyriū· & ipse dux & caput maloꝝ
antixp̄c· Tūc sunamitis regine austri c̄federabit· &
mandragora ei associabit· Sextū bellū erit int̄ regē
glē & regē sup̄bię· int̄ anglos & homines· In hoc bello rex
xp̄c cū uniuerso exercitu angloꝝ aduenien· hanc baby
loniā ciuitatē diaboli c̄buret· ipsū hostē cū omib' suis
in stagnū igni & sulphuri p̄cipitabit· & sponsā suā glā
& honore pacto bello coronabit· & in thalamo glē col
locabit· sibiq; copulabit· qa se ipsū ei talē q̄lis ē patri

Fig. 40. *The Return of the Shunamite. Exposition in Cantica Canticorum*,
Walters Art Museum, MS. 29, fol. 89 *v*

Conclusion

Fig. 1. Untitled Photograph, France, c. 1942